

**THE BABY BOOMER BUDGET**

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

MARCH 18, 1996

# Maclean's



**ISRAEL**

## **TARGETING TERROR**

**The Campaign To Crack Hamas**

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**Why Kids Become  
Suicide Bombers**

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# From The Editor

## The Liberal heir apparent



I was called a "good news budget" and "a liberal budget," but that was overstatement. It lacked back-scratching, Old Age Security payments for future grandparents, left the GST in place, stuck it to professional couples planning their long-term retirement and told baby boomers they are going to have to look after themselves in the future.

What it was, though, was a tour de force by Finance Minister Paul Martin, from the overused type of the brochure about how much he is committed to the deficit, to the march against the deficit. Martin has emerged as the most effective finance minister of the modern political era—he does what he says. And he is media-savvy. The day before the budget he had his picture taken with a bunch of Ottawa students, guaranteeing that photos of a coming, hitherto minor event, would splash all over the papers on his big day—thus deepening that traditional dreary slot of the minister and his new shoes.

The arguments will continue for days about what the budget did not do and what it should have done. But of one thing there is no doubt: except for more sipping from Big L and real couples concerned about children in low-governing support payments, the reaction was highly positive. That is no mean feat for any finance minister, especially one who carries the self-imposed burden of eliminating the annual deficit and starting to chip away at the \$200-billion national debt.

With his mastery of the complicated portfolio, Paul Martin is the undisputed star of the Christian cabinet, a man who has delivered the government's only good story since the Quebec referendum. In so doing, the bilingual Martin, 50, has become the heir apparent to the Liberal party throne.

For someone who is a head-thrust away, Martin has been very patient laying out his course. Last year he announced sweeping spending cuts—but then won brownie points for not implementing them right away. This year, as the first big chips look to—totaling \$19.6 billion—everyone seems to have forgotten the author.

The reason for the support, of course, is that Martin has persuaded Canadians that he is right to focus on reducing the annual deficit. Although he does not let us go on a limb, clearly the finance minister can see the day—if present trends continue—when the federal budget will be balanced for the first time in four decades.

The other tea change comes in the way individuals will have to plan for their future. More young people already have accepted what is an underlying rationale of the Martin budget—that state pensions as we know them today will not exist and that people under 30 should start to look after themselves. The great battle waged by Liberal governments after the war led by Martin's own father, was to end means tests and to establish universality at the bedrock for Canadian social programs. With his decision to cut higher income brackets out of Old Age Security and the Guaranteed Income Supplement, Martin has continued the march away from the principles on which postwar society operated. A child born in the Great Depression, whose own personal fortune grew in the good years, is now setting the table for a more restricted diet in the next century.

*Robert Jones*



Martin in the House—the star of the cabinet



'Creation of Adam' (Michelangelo, Rome)

Without a purpose,  
there is no reason.

Without passion,  
there is no reason  
for existence.

## Newsroom Notes:

### Return to the Middle East

London-based Bureau Chief Bruce Wallace is no stranger to global trouble spots. He has covered wars in Somalia, Bosnia and the Persian Gulf. Last week, he was back in the Middle East, reporting on the wave of suicide bombings that killed 57 civilians and did grievous damage to the peace process. He last visited Gaza in 1993, when it was still an Israeli-occupied



Wallace in Jerusalem, 'a shocking thing'

territory. "The visible difference," says Wallace, "is striking: less garbage, freshly paved roads, new buildings going up. But most Palestinians say the economy is worse under Yasser Arafat than even during the days of the intifada." He adds: "The most telling moment of the week, however, was visiting the bombing site in Tel Aviv. It was a shopping mall that looked like every other in the Western world, a place of no particular significance to the Middle East conflict. You feel a true fear because the deaths were absolutely random. No one had any warning, there was no escape. That is a chilling thing for Israelis to live with."



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## Montreal's future

Your cover story on Montreal is extremely well written, covering all of the issues close to the heart of most expatriates ("Storm warnings," Cover, March 4). Obviously, I did a research paper on the topic of Quebec nationalism and used an article written by Pierre Trudieau in April, 1982, in *Cité 1100* on the topic of Quebec nationalism. In it, he states that "separation debates those who subscribe to it with the very prospect of a better life. There's probably not one French-Canadian intellec-

tualist to which will be another wrench, stressful and unusable period guaranteed to prolong Montreal's agonies." Surely recovery can only happen after separation is off the agenda.

Gordon Power (Pen  
Monsieur)

## A 'powerful lady'

Years ago, when I lived in Naples, Falls, Ont., I listened to Barbara Hamilton on the radio talking about her experience with breast cancer. She told how a mammogram had found her cancer at a very early stage, and about her subsequent treatment. She also endorsed the breast cancer studies just beginning at Mount Sinai Hospital in Toronto, influenced by her personal experience, and enthusiastic and humorous approach. I participated in that program for five years.

This powerful lady made me aware of a disease that affects so many women today. I was saddened to read of her death (Passages, Feb. 15). She didn't wait for her ship to come in, she swam out to it.

Margaret Gosselin,  
Mississauga

## Minority rights

For us French-speaking Acadians in Nova Scotia, it is appalling to find an *Ontario French* journalist question about Quebec's commitment to an open society with its minorities ("Mounting the minority voice in Quebec," Colonne, Feb. 26). In 1980, after a five-year struggle with the school board and the province in order to get a French school according to the charter, we finally got several French classes. Seven years later, our children are still in the basement and in private. This painful situation takes place in the former Isle Royale in the very province where the French settled in 1604. Would Diane Fournier agree that our rights have been "systematically nullified?"

Guthrie (Diane) Lemak  
Sydney, N.S.

## 'Weekly masterpiece'

Every week as I browse through your magazine, my anticipation grows as I approach the final page. The lady bet that what my appetite on the last page is the weekly masterpiece created by Roy Petererson to accompany Allan Fotheringham's column. These crisp little gems of creative genius capture the essence of the columnist's work with wit and wit and wit. The illustration for "A 'bad girl' was saved by a good book" (Feb. 26) is an example of artistic excellence. The evolution of Sharon Hamilton's life has been captured in a simple black-and-white composition. If there is a special award for this challenging art form, this illustration should win. No contest.

Roy Stone,  
Naples, Ont.

I must thank Diane Fournier. Every time I feel my separatist fervor waning, I can always count on her to rekindle it. Her unflinching contempt for Quebec's political and social leaders, and her hints of the lack of openness and other deadly sins of Quebec society, are the strong medicine I need when I start dreaming of a political arrangement that would prevent the breaking up of Canada. So I can only ask her to continue her good work until due next referendum and to try to have more of her columns translated into French; they're very helpful for the independentists cause.

Robert (Diane)  
Montreal

## Pride and prejudice

I was drilled Mary Walsh inside the cover *Let Manoeuvre's* ("22 Minutes for high school," Feb. 26). At a time of stress and turmoil in my life (I was recently widowed), I not only look forward to the show but actually need to see it to let go for a while and have a laugh. I hope these wonderful people will be around for many more years to keep us all laughing.

Carol R. Joseph  
Windsor

Your cover story on Mary Walsh was excellent, not to mention overdue. Mary makes me turn to the CBC. I wonder when legends it is nowadays for one 26 years of



Moving out of Montreal's referendum agony

tail who hasn't discussed separatism at least four times a week for a year, that makes her using the words of 200 hours spent exclusively in this chatter?"

Francoise Mathew,  
Toronto

It is ironic that French and English Canadians are moving further apart as our historical colonies are moving closer through the European Union. There are two situations provide a culturally similar example of diverging trends in the world today towards more and more regionalism, one splits both larger and smaller than the traditional nation state. This is a time for important changes as individuals and groups position themselves for the global economy (and culture?) village of the 21st century.

Karen Mark  
Baltimore

How severe and gulf-like our federalist Montreal and outside residents be to be drawn into a recovery plan knowing that right behind is the province of a referendum. The



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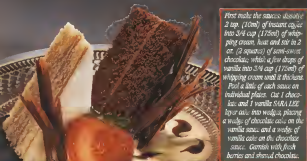






# Simply Delicious...

For a dessert your dinner guests will love, try our Chocolate-Vanilla Cappuccino Delight.



First make the sauce: dissolve 2 tsp. (10ml) of instant coffee into 3/4 cup (175ml) of whipping cream. Heat and stir in 2 oz. (2 squares) of semi-sweet chocolate; whisk a few drops of vanilla into 3/4 cup (175ml) of whipping cream and drizzle over the chocolate. Pool a little of each sauce on individual plates. Cut 1 chocolate and 1 vanilla SARA LEE layer cake into wedges, placing a wedge of chocolate cake on the vanilla sauce, and a wedge of vanilla cake on the chocolate sauce. Garnish with fresh berries and shaved chocolate.

When your guests ask for more of this delicious dessert, tell them the secret is in the recipe. "Me & Sara Lee."

**Me & Sara Lee**



Column



**Barbara Amiel**

## The stream of anti-Israeli vitriol

**A**merican television used to have a show called *To Tell the Truth*. Three people would claim to be the same person with some special story to tell. I remember that moment when the host of the show would say, "Will the real Mr. X please stand up?" One lady would start out in his chair and then, suddenly, the real person would stand up to studio applause.

There have been moments when I wanted to ask, "Would the real Mr. Arafat please stand up," but they have been very fleeting. On Jan. 31, in Stockholm, the PLO leader made a speech to a closed meeting of about 40 Arab diplomats. Guests were asked to a Stockholm airport and confronted by Arab sources. Arafat outlined his plan to eliminate Israel through the peace process. "The PLO will now

concentrate on splitting Israel psychologically into two camps," he said. "Within five years, we will have six million to seven million Arabs living on the West Bank and in Jerusalem." This, he explained, will cause "a mass migration of Jews. We Palestinians will take over everything. We will eliminate Israel and establish a purely Palestinian state.... I have no use for Jews. They are, and remain, Jews. We now need all the help we can get from you in our battle for a united Palestine under total Arab-Muslim domination."

None of this was new. Just before the bombings last week, Palestinians in the West Bank burned a mock bus labeled *Busegoff No. 5* to celebrate the October 1994 Hamas bombing of a Tel Aviv bus in that year that killed 22 people. Television clips showed that three members of the Palestinian police took part in that demonstration in full uniform, while others watched passively. In Gaza last May, in a speech read for Arafat by Justice Minister Froth Abu Mideen, he said: "Israel shall remain the principal enemy of the Palestinian people, not only now but in the future."

Israel had to try the peace process. When a country cannot afford to lose one war and her enemies can lose a hundred consecutive, peace is the only way to survive. Still, it is in Israel's understanding why Israelis and their government have tried to avoid facing what Arafat really is. Unfortunately, Jews are quick to anger at the slightest attack people with no power to risk, our stretched hair causes indignation, but for those when it comes to the claims of those with power to impose their threats. The German Jews believe that their country would remain safe after Hitler came to power in a tragic example. Douglas Davies, a prominent South African Jewish journalist, recalls attending a speech by the matchless head of the South African security police in 1966. The speech was full of the cruelest anti-Semitism, which he duly reported. Leaders of the South African Jewish community called a meeting and issued a statement saying that such remarks could not possibly have been

and that if they had, they could not possibly be meant.

Israel has reacted the same way to Arafat's endless stream of anti-Israeli vitriol. He doesn't really mean it. It is just to modify Hamas. Not have they complained about Arafat's so-called record of terrorism that takes place whenever the West leans on him, and the inevitable release a day or month later even after arduous negotiations. The Middle East conflict has these truly paradoxical strands. On one hand, the Western world has been extremely generous to Israel. From a realpolitik point of view, the Arabs had no, Israel had only problems. It would have made far more sense and saved American and Canadian taxpayers a great deal of money to have cut a deal with the Arab world.

In reality, media commentators have made careers of moral equanimity by apologizing for savage murders by Arabs on the grounds that the Israelis were "violating human rights" as if these two things were equal. In plain terms, Jews suffered the indignity of the UN resolution that "Zionism is racism," and even now the UN spends some \$6 million funding pro-Palestinian organizations that bandied with Israeli propaganda.

Though Israel is constantly being told to demilitarize and crush down in its religious minorities, there is a stunning silence in the world about the need for Israel to clean house as well. There may well be "moderate" Muslim religious leaders, but where are they? Indeed, what Canadian Muslim religious leader has stood up and said that neither in the name of Allah nor other sacrifice or else there is something wrong with Islam's dramatics. The suicide bombers that murder Jews are doing so convinced that they will enter paradise.

Both mainstream Christianity and Judaism have denounced the violence they once condoned, but Islam has never undergone real reform. Those serious Muslims thinkers who have tried to suggest separation of church and state have either been executed or marginalized. When Moses, for example, talked about an eye for an eye, he meant it, quite literally. He refuses to interpret it to simply mean the right to compensation.

The problem for the many moderate Muslim believers around the world is that the Koran explicitly condones the violence of a holy war (Jihad). Those individuals who volunteer to attack infidels in Allah's name are revered as martyrs if they die for him and when the community it seems under attack, Jihad is an obligation. There are Islamic countries in the world that have undergone modernization and adapted, such as Indonesia and Turkey, which have separation of church and state. No such country exists in the Middle East where war made Jews are persecuted. So long as Arab Islam remains unrefined, Israel will remain a thorn in the side of believers. Perhaps the time has come to ask if the real peacebuilders will please stand up.





## MARTIN'S WORKING PLAN

Paul Martin's 1996-1997 budget starts with revenues of \$125 billion.

He spends \$108 billion on government programs.

Leaving an operating surplus of \$26 billion.

But he must pay \$47.8 billion in interest on the national debt.

Resulting in an underlying deficit of \$21.8 billion.

To which he adds \$2.5 billion as a contingency reserve\*.

Ending up with a deficit of \$24.3 billion.

\*Money set aside to apply against the deficit should revenues fall below, or if debt charges rise above, projections.

SOURCE: FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

have, that is practice, we have those more realistic."

Among the key budget measures—and their possible political consequences—are

- By 1996-1997, Ottawa's spending on programs will drop to \$105.5 billion from \$112.7 billion in 1994-1995. That will represent just 12 per cent of GDP, the lowest level in nearly half a century. In fact, that raises an enormous deficit in Ottawa's old debt and pension in every Canadian life. Spending on such services as the CBC, business subsidies, defence purchases and foreign aid will dwindle. Instead, more and more of Ottawa's resources will go towards paying the interest on its debt. In 1997-1998, for example, Ottawa will spend \$106 billion on programs—and a staggering \$49 billion on interest.

- Ottawa clearly wants to sustain its reputation as social programs. Under the previous major election, and payments to the provinces were slated to disappear before the end of the first decade of the 21st century. Under the new Canada Health and Social Transfer, which takes effect on April 1, Ottawa will guarantee that the provinces will receive at least \$1 billion each year—and that those cash transfers will begin to grow by the 2000-2001 fiscal year.

## STALEMATE ON THE GST

For Paul Martin, it was the tax that dared not speak its name. During the course of his 55-minute budget speech last week, the finance minister made only the briefest reference to Ottawa's widely dispersed Goods and Services Tax, saying simply that the government was "working very hard to replace the federal sales tax." But Martin's reluctance to even hint the GST to pass his life spoke volumes. For months, Martin has unsuccessfully attempted to raise and lower some of the most powerful finance ministers in the country to harmonize federal and provincial sales taxes into a single national levy—a move that in some provinces would mean a higher overall tax rate while in others it might actually reduce taxes. The stalemate has delighted Martin's political opponents. On the day before the budget, Ontario Premier Bill Davis warned that the House of Commons that "Germans know that the Prime Minister promised to eliminate the GST. He

The continued presence of the cash means that Ottawa can still enforce the Canada Health Act, under which it withholds one dollar in transfers for every dollar that the provinces charge in user fees or extra billing. The budget also noted that Ottawa will still provide payments that impose no debt requirements on willing recipients—a pointed dig at British Columbia's three-month residency rule. Ottawa made only a feeble attempt, however, to end the disparity in per capita payments between the wealthier provinces, such as Ontario and Alberta, and the poorer provinces. Quebec will get \$800 in 1996-1997 compared with \$850 (in Ontario). It will take six years to have that gap—a minor in politics. As a result, the strains and squabbles within Canada are certain to increase.

- At a time when Ottawa and the provinces are fighting over power, the federal government has created a new way of doing business that will likely tamper on provincial turf. The budget announced three new service agencies for local inspection, parts management and revenue collection. Of the three, the Canada Revenue Agency was already created as a separate unit, but work, particularly in Quebec. Ottawa has altered to

## SQUEEZE ON SENIORS

New Seniors Benefit will decline as income rises, after it comes into effect in 2001.

Income from other sources	Top-free income	Change
Single seniors	Couples	
\$0	\$12,478	\$18,440
5,000	8,520	15,340
10,000	6,425	12,440
20,000	5,160	10,320
30,000	4,350	8,630
40,000	2,350	7,510
50,000	350	5,510
60,000	—	3,510
70,000	—	1,510
80,000	—	—

did not promise to fudge the GST, to hide it or to supersede it, he promised to eliminate it. What part of the word eliminate do the Liberals not understand?"

The great danger, the Liberals have only themselves to blame for having to endure such jibes. In their famous Red Book of election promises, they proudly stated that they would "replace the GST with a system that generates equivalent revenues, is fairer to consumers... and promotes federal-provincial fiscal co-operation and harmonization." However, on the 1993 election bid and several times since, the GST's status of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and his key ministers left the impression that the Liberals intended to abolish the tax outright. "We hate the GST and we will kill it," Chrétien told the House of Commons in May 1994. More recently, Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps, who has promised to resign if the Liberals fail to keep their GST promise, emerged from a caucus meeting in late January to tell reporters that the issue would be addressed in the budget. Inside the meeting, Martin had patiently explained why that was not possible—on

ly to hear Copps declare that "what I'm going to say when I leave this room is that we're getting rid of the GST." Responded Martin, with a shrug of his shoulders, "Okay what you want to say."

Now, the Reform party hopes to make the GST an issue in the by-elections set for March 26. But while Reformers are casting the stones, they are not without sin in the matter. In the late 1980s, the party made election breakthroughs in Alberta largely through an unexpected vote to keep the GST. But faced with the prospect of losing a tax that generates about \$17 billion annually, Reform long ago abandoned that stance in favor of phasing out the GST—and then only after the federal budget is balanced. What it comes to the elected consumption tax, campaigning to kill the GST is the only part, carrying out the deed is quite another matter.

BRIAN BERGMAN with E. KATE FULTON in Ottawa

## TIPPING THE BALANCE

She became a lightning rod for thousands of divorced women across Canada. In May 1994, Susan Thibodeau, a social worker and divorced mother of two from Toronto, Ont., was a gratingly logical battle when the Federal Court of Appeal upheld her refusal to pay taxes on the \$1,100 a month that she received in child support payments from her ex-husband. The court argued that the law was discriminatory because noncustodial parents who pay support, usually fathers, are allowed to deduct payments from taxable income while custodial parents, usually mothers, must pay taxes on them. Ottawa agreed to last June the Supreme Court of Canada upheld the law.

But even if that is true, says Bette Roche, an Ottawa-based family lawyer and mediator, family finances could be squeezed. Most of those who pay child support are men who make more money than their ex-wives, putting them in a

"fired of being treated as wilelets rather than fathers." Roche's proposed changes, he said, were "nothing but a massive tax grab by the courts that will take money out of the hands of families."

Some family law specialists say that such concerns may be justified. Over the first three years under the new tax regime, Ottawa expects to enjoy a revenue gain of \$200 million—money that Roche insists will be used to support children of divorced parents. But even if that is true, says Bette Roche, an Ottawa-based family lawyer and mediator, family finances could be squeezed. Most of those who pay child support are men who make more money than their ex-wives, putting them in a



Thibodeau: "This is one measure that penalizes women."

In a series of measures announced along with the federal budget, Roche said that for custody arrangements received after May 1, 1997, people will no longer have to pay taxes on their support payments, while parents who make the payments will no longer get a tax deduction. Women's groups warmly endorsed Roche's proposal—with one serious reservation. By failing to make the tax reforms retroactive, they said, Ottawa would leave thousands of women in a bind. They would be liable to launch potentially costly court battles. "These are measures that penalize women once again," said Thibodeau, who was on Parliament Hill for the announcements.

Many divorced fathers who stand to lose a considerable tax deduction were even more concerned, flooding opt-out letters to Congress and Ottawa's budget hotline with angry letters. Ross Vigna, president of a Toronto-based men's rights group called the Search of Justice, told Meacham that he was also fielding calls from anxious males who were

higher income tax bracket; there tends to be more money available for children if the lower-income men pay the tax. Roche also says that the changes could prompt even more men to default on their payments, while others may go back to court to seek reduced obligations. Concluded Roche, "Women who are looking for an immediate benefit from this will find that they have more problems than they realize." Roche, who last week embarked on a national tour to promote his reforms, may find that the latest lobbying has just begun.

BRIAN BERGMAN in Ottawa

cause seniors constitute the strongest lobby in the country, Ottawa decided that it could not touch the Old Age Security and Guaranteed Income Supplement of seniors who turned 60 before Dec. 31, 1983. Instead, the new system will not kick in until 2004. Then, new pensioners with household incomes above \$45,000 will see rapid declines in their pensions. In turn, the poorest pensioners will receive an extra \$120 per year. Single seniors with no other income will receive \$11,430 another each year, elderly couples will get \$18,840. Perhaps Ottawa was wise to be cautious. Martin's two elderly aunts, Claire and Lucille, from Timbuctoo, Ont., watched the budget presentation from the parliamentary gallery in Ottawa because they were so worried about their pensions. When their aunts announced that current amounts would not be affected by the changes, the two women lifted their arms in excitement.

• Ottawa tinkered with its system of tax exemptions. It freed the annual limit of contributions to registered retirement savings plans at \$13,500 under the year 2000, when it will increase by \$1,000. In recognition of the fact that charities must shoulder an increasing burden, Ottawa raised the general annual limit on donations from 30 per cent to 50 per cent of the donor's net income. That should encourage higher donations.

• Federal officials are awash aware of the fact that the budget contains too subtle job creation incentives. Instead, Martin asked a five-ribben panel of experts to review the tax system to ensure that it rewards companies that create jobs. Future tax breaks will likely form the nucleus of Martin's next, and probably final, budget before an election. As Gaudin, the chairman of the Liberal cabinet committee on job creation told *Macleod's*: "I hope this technical consultation will yield interesting and innovative ideas in terms of long-term job creation."

• The five-year wage freeze on the public service will be lifted, and February—much to the good news for the public service, demoralized by 45,000 job losses *And* in last week's estimates, which outline how Ottawa will spend its tax revenues, the government disclosed that it is going through with an unopposed \$88-million cut to the budget of the CBC. It also announced that implementing its new gun-control registry will cost an extra \$3.9 billion in 1996-1997.

By week's end, most Liberal politicians concluded that the budget was a success—only because few issues, with the glaring exception of child support delinquency, had inspired major controversy. This week, Hays and his decision to lose two women, Senator Claire Hervieux-Payette, must respect to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien as the state of the party machinery. More important, they must watch the mood of the nation as many baby boomers struggle to accept their increasingly fragile and uncertain future. The two senators will likely conclude that it may be wiser to wait until there is a better news. □



## Backstage Ottawa

### Less is more in Ottawa

"Politicians," Mikita Khramchuk said in 1989, "are the mice all over. They promise to build a bridge even when there is no river." Perhaps, but Khramchuk, a spokesman, never met a member of the Liberal Party of Canada. If he had, he would know these things: A "bridge" is better referred to as an "infrastructure," a promise to build one is called "job creation," and as for the non-existent river, the Liberals would offer jet-skiing over it to the government as proof that they believe in decentralization. After all was said (but not done), they would announce that they would set, after all, build the bridge. Rather than apologizing, they would then congratulate themselves for being "financially responsible" in having built away from their original commitment.

Such is what passes for real life these days in Official Ottawa, where what is not done counts for more than what is actually doing something. In the wake of last week's budget, the Liberals' biggest boast is that they did not raise taxes. They also bragged that their proposed pension changes do not generate those who are within several years of turning 65 and will not adversely affect most Canadians even after they come into effect. To the chagrin of the banks, they did not amend legislation to let them into the insurance business. In turn, the general public's biggest complaint is that the Liberals did not lower their promise to change the Goods and Services Tax (GST). In fact, in keeping with the spirit of non-accommodation, Finance Minister Paul Martin did not even mention the GST by name in his budget speech.

So when it comes to doing nothing, it is clear that the Liberals are as proficient as ever. So profuse, in fact, that the bag question these days among party members is not whether they will win the next election, but how soon they should go to the polls and accept the inevitable hammer from voters. A small minority of MPs, however, maintain a growing number like the idea of just going: almost no one would mind the loss of 1997.

The actual date of the next election matters little to most Canadians—but the fact the government is thinking about the issue raises a potentially enormous difference. As a general expenditure theorem governing political behavior, consider this: the likelihood of a politician making unpopular decisions decreases in direct proportion to the proximity of the next election. So far, the Liberals have kept their bad news quiet to a minimum aside from some tough but reasonable spending cuts, controversial gas control legislation, and the nightmare of the Quebec referendum, they have done their level best to face, not as a sort of Government Line, leading the country in a more tasteful and less flagrant way than their predecessors.

But from now until the west is dropped (most likely in the fall of 1997) that low-fat form of leadership will be supplanted by the occasional heavy smack aimed at various different groups, as past the ways, how Ottawa affects their lives. Suddenly, despite the budget cuts, money is available in areas where it has not been seen in years. One of these is a lifting of a five-year wage freeze on federal government employees. The recipients will be chair members of the Royal

Canadian Mounted Police (and, of course, the raise is based on merit in their efforts to protect the prime minister). Similarly, the government is likely to award approx. about \$50 million in renovations on repairs to federal buildings in Montreal that have been put on hold for the last three years. Much for the sake to happen in other regions.

Still, when it comes to the regular diet of news announcements from Ottawa, blood will continue to be blemished. The military will not receive the new helicopters and submarines it desperately needs under the terms of its present mandate because the Liberals have decided that the potential for public backlash is too great. Data for expanded human rights legislation affecting homosexuals, nevertheless, it seems clear that Jean Chrétien's dominant idea is that the government that governs best is the one that governs least. This may be the best Liberal government that conservatives have ever had.

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# Distinct society? No.

Three and a half years after they delivered the most meaningful No in the country to the ill-fated Charlottetown accord, British Columbians are reluctantly turning their minds once again to the thorny and uncomfortable issue of the constitutional debate. Earliest groups of ordinary citizens have been holding public meetings to air the subject. It preoccupies many of the writers who trade opinions and put down in the handful of historic news groups devoted to B.C. affairs. And in the interior city of Kelowna in the Okanagan Valley, Quebec's status as the country is once again "a hot issue," says Benoit Clark, who hosts a daily morning phone-in show on local radio station CKOV. But nothing in the renewed attention to the subject suggests that British Columbians have changed their minds about one central issue: Quebec's demand for constitutional recognition as a distinct society. "That's underlined," says Clark. "And it's repeated."

Ottawa is clearly hoping that that judgment is not irreversible. In a signal of the importance that the Canadian government places on winning B.C. support for its unity strategy, including legislative recognition of Quebec's distinct society, it sent new Deputy Minister Sub-plains to Vancouver on March 2 to appear at a public forum devoted to the unity issue. In a darkened, banker-like conference room deep beneath the neo-gothic windows of colorful B.C. House of Commons, Clark pleaded with his listeners to recognize that "our country is in danger." A fervent proponent of Quebec's distinctiveness, he assured his audience, would "not change the balance of powers, it does not convey special status." Once begged British Columbians to "endure Quebec's separatism in their hearts." In their hearts, perhaps, but there appears to be little appetite for doing so in the Constitution. "They agree with the reality of Quebec's distinctiveness," observes Jeffrey Russell of the editors who phone his talk show on CKOV radio in Vancouver. Indeed, "that they don't want the federal government out to grant Quebec more powers with distinct society." That concern was

echoed last week by B.C. Premier Glen Clark, who said that Quebec and the federal government "want to see changes to the Constitution filtered through the lens of distinct society, which then creates special status that the rest of the country doesn't have."

Whether Ottawa—or anyone else from Ottawa—can overcome that pervasive dis-

prompted partly by continuing negotiations and the belief by many voters that the outcome will be different classes of citizenship, in which Ottawa and Quebec will receive different treatment. Finally, there is a widespread conviction that even recognizing Quebec as a distinct society will not alter that provisory determination to separate.

For others, fear that the country may indeed divide over a failure to accept Quebec's distinct society has hit home. "Maybe we just have to change the terminology to get at some meaningful recognition of Quebec's distinctiveness," suggests Jeff Scutten, the slender, bearded lawyer who organized the Vancouver forum at which Clark spoke. That point is not lost on other Canadians: the language of the constitutional debate—especially the term distinct society—was one of the main topics at the Confederation 2000 constitutional conference in Ottawa over the weekend, sponsored by the Benjamin Council on National Issues.

B.C. Liberal Leader Gordon Campbell, meanwhile, moves about with recognition of Quebec's distinctiveness to similar acknowledgment of other provinces' distinctive needs. "If British Columbia is a distinct society and Newfoundland is, and Quebec is," Vancouver's former mayor suggests, "that might be one way of going about it." And while others to Russell's Vancouverian border show, for example, reject a constitutional clause on distinct society, they may be more open to granting Quebec—and other provinces—additional powers.

If most British Columbians agree that Ottawa's unity initiatives have a hard act, many express hope that Canada's politicians will make the effort to keep the country together. "I'm not sure that we have either the commitment or the political will," concedes orthodontist Ron Mackey, one of dozens at a called ordinary Canadians who participated in the public consultations that led to the Charlottetown accord. "But given those two things, I think it's doable." The risk for Ottawa, however, is that so many of Mackey's fellow British Columbians feel that they have heard a lot before—and rejected it.

CHRIS WOOD in Vancouver

*The mood of B.C. residents flies in the face of Quebec's key demand*



Glen Clark: Owen (left) calling Quebec a distinct society "does not convey special status"

and university towns of Prince George, others to Ben Meener's daily show on CKOV "will not listen to or respect any politician who talks to them on this issue," observes the host. "They don't believe my party." Dan Rendall, who hosts the views of the Fraser River country northwesterly, ranchers and homeowners who call in to CKOV in Port St. John, agrees. "They're sick of hearing about it," he says. "I don't know if they're even prepared to listen."

Constitutional change may be one reason for British Columbians' failure to warm to Ottawa's appeal. But there is a rising unease about local claims. The concern is

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CANADA

## Troubling stories

Why did 92 babies die at a Winnipeg hospital?

Painful memories come flooding back as Linda Peakes sits in the gallery of a Winnipeg courtroom, listening to testimony at the request into the death of her son, Ashton, at 15 months. "I was to get all the information that I can, for my own peace of mind," she whispers. "At first we thought it was God's will that we lost our baby. Now, we're thinking maybe it wasn't God's will, and we're wondering if our son had tests."

Ashton was one of 12 babies who died in 1994 following high-risk heart surgery at

heart back to the body) and instruments from each other. It was very obvious that neither one had the skill or expertise to handle the situation. "Some nurses said they felt 'physically ill on thinking of coming to work with there is a fresh cardiac patient,'" Odum and Hancock are expected to give their version of events later in the lawsuit.

The Williams Roy report questioned Odum's technical competence and found numerous flaws in the cardiac program. "There is a train of evidence" which will not vanish overnight," the doctors write.

"This program was poorly supervised by each other. It was very obvious that neither one had the skill or expertise to handle the situation. "Some nurses said they felt 'physically ill on thinking of coming to work with there is a fresh cardiac patient,'" Odum and Hancock are expected to give their version of events later in the lawsuit.

For parents, losing such evidence has been difficult. "We asked a lot of questions before the operation, but we didn't think to ask if the doctors and nurses were fighting during the operation," Peakes said in an interview last week. "We assumed they knew what they were doing. Our son had his operation in November. If they had told us about the problems they were having before that, we might have gone somewhere else."

The report began only because of pressure from distraught parents. "They knew there was something wrong," said David Chrusch, a New Democratic Party member of Manitoba's legislature. "and they screamed so loudly that the government had to call the inquiry." Peakes and other parents who lost children watched last week from cluttered court metal chairs at the back of the room. Peakes said it is sad that her nine-month-old daughter, Alicia, will never know her brother, Ashton. "She's wearing his clothes now, so in a sense, his memory is living on through her," Peakes said. "I know I can never get my son back, but in his honor I'm going to keep on fighting to make sure we find out what went wrong, and that it never happens again."

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### INAUDIBLE COMMENTS

A Canadian Judicial Council inquiry into the behavior of Quebec Superior Court Justice Jean Bonneau heard testimony that he had privately referred to defendants Tony Thiberge as a "kike" and a "nigger"—a pejorative term whose English counterpart is "nigger." Sheriff Roger Bessard also said that during Thiberge's December murder trial the judge asked him to bring him a bottle of vodka. Bonneau first found himself at the center of controversy with his widely publicized remarks that Thiberge, found guilty of second-degree murder, had caused her husband greater suffering when she slashed his throat than the Nazis inflicted on Holocaust victims.

### ALBERTA'S VICEROY

Henric (Bud) Olson, a senator and former Liberal cabinet minister, was named as Alberta's new lieutenant-governor. Olson, 73, served in the federal cabinet with Prime Minister Jean Chrétien under former prime minister Pierre Trudeau during the 1970s. Olson was appointed Nick Taylor, a former Alberta Liberal leader, to replace Olson as the Senate.

### VETERANS LOSE

Second World War veterans lost a bid to sue the CBC over the television series *The Motor and the Horror* about the Bessie Court of Canada refused to hear their arguments. The veterans claimed that the 1992 series portrayed Canadian soldiers as cold-blooded killers who targeted women and children during raids over Germany. The Ontario Court of Appeal ruled last June that the veterans could not sue for defamation because there was no evidence that the series cast them in a negative light.

### RACISM AND WAR GAMES

The Canadian Forces suspended two officers in an investigation into allegations that war games conducted under their supervision last fall at Saskatchewan's Camp Borden had a racist premise. The war games allegedly featured a fictional group of 16 natives led by a drug-addicted ex-convict named "Frank Peacepost" who occupied a road leading into the camp. Native leaders reacted with outrage to the allegations and demanded a formal written apology.



White addressing critics, "You cannot starve these people out."

## Back to bargaining

Ontario labor ministry mediators called negotiators for the government and the working Ontario Public Service Employees Union back to the bargaining table over the weekend. But Ontario Finance Minister Ernie Eves predicted no quick end to the walkout, which begins on Feb. 30 and has some 55,000 OPSU members walk off the job. In fact, Eves said that the strike is likely to continue through the opening of the Ontario

Toronto's Day Job, locusts protesting extended lockout hours because of the shortage of guards pulled managers and guards with human waste. Labor leaders, meanwhile, warned that back-to-work legislation or the possible use of replacement workers could result in private-sector unions joining the walkout. "You cannot starve these people out," Canadian Labour Congress president Bob White told a rally in Ottawa.

### 'I need to move on'

Two weeks after her party went down to defeat at the hands of Premier Bob Rae's Liberals, Newfoundland Conservative Leader Lynn Yorge announced that she is leaving politics. Yorge, 45, a veteran of 17 years in the Newfoundland House of Assembly, lost her own riding in the Feb. 23 election in a narrow vote after a judicial review, while her party, which remained the official opposition, dropped to nine seats from 18. "I've given it everything I had to give," Yorge told a news



Yorge, 45 years.

Newfoundland. The provincial Tories have not yet set a date for a leadership convention.

## Leniency for a troubled intruder

Kenneth Snow of St. John's, Nfld., was sentenced to four days in jail for trespassing—minus his last 30 days—after he scolded the fetus at Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's 26th Summit Crisis residence on March 1. Snow testified that he had been mistaken as a resident at Newfoundland's notorious Mount Cashel orphanage, and that after a drinking barge he wanted to complain to the Prime Minister about his act of trespassing. Snow, who was apprehended weeks after his act and the arrests of 21 others, was placed on 18-month probation and ordered to make restitution for the damage done. Meanwhile, a June 20 trial date was set for Anne Dalbey, who is charged with attempted murder after breaking into the Prime Minister's residence on Nov. 5 armed with a large jackknife. Dalbey, 34, a former Montreal-area convenience store worker, was also charged with breaking and entering, being unlawfully in a dwelling and possession of a weapon.



Dole celebrates with his wife Elizabeth at a 10-state stop

## WORLD

# SURGING AHEAD

Greater Atlanta, Georgia's booming capital, is the home of The Coca-Cola Co., CNN and a cosmopolitan business community that includes among many others, 335 Canadian firms. The city boasts the champion baseball Braves and will host the 1996 Summer Olympics. It prides Jimmy Carter's peace center, the birthplace of Martin Luther King, and its suburban Cobb County, the congressional district of Newt Gingrich, leader of the 1994 Republican revolution. But presidential candidate Bob Dole chose a midtown Atlanta scrapyard called Central Metals Recycling Co. as the platform for his closing pitch in last week's "Junior Tuesday" round of 16 Republican interview pits. The 79-year-old Senate majority leader drilled a great hour but for some speech-making word mastery of congressional beer cans, crushed cars and old tires. Dole also shed his customary reluctance to beg for votes. He appealed to about 120 local listeners, and a wider TV audience, to help him overcome a lingering stain on his belt to take on Bill Clinton in the Nov. 5 election.

"I've been told that people didn't vote for me because I didn't ask them," said Dole, as if an afterthought to his cryptic, incoherent speech. "But I want you to vote for our country." The next day, March 8, Republicans in Georgia and nine smaller states did so—

overwhelmingly. A 10-state sweep pleased Dole from the very hour of failure on his third attempt to win the caucuses after dismal showings in 1990, 1996 and in the early weeks of the current contest. And after conquering New York state two days later, Dole spoke with assurance that now only Clinton stands in the way of recycling his 35-year career in Congress into a four-year term as U.S. president.

### REPORT FROM ATLANTA

BY CARL MOULINS

Conquering confidently for the important "Super Tuesday" balloting that week (a popular Texas and Florida and five other states), Dole described his sudden success as "an overwhelming expression of Republican unity." The party's cause is "the urgent need to defeat Bill Clinton and return conservative leadership to the presidency." For house, he said, "this is a solid win that tells me it's time to move on and start the race for November."

Few doubted Dole's implied assurance that the nomination is within his grasp, even though Republican voters in only 20 of the 50 states had been heard from as of party and, officially the process runs to the end of June. But his claim of victory surely had the poison rivet, despite a rush of fierce campaign lies and other Republican TV. Dole had made both renegade Republican Pat Buchanan, representing the party's right wing on social issues, and billionaire

Steve Forbes, the economic conservative, refused to quit after their loss in New York, Georgia, five New England states, Maryland, Minnesota, Colorado and Washington state.

By persisting in challenging Dole, both men aim to earn at least the right to push their policies at the party's mid-July national convention. But last week, bitter feuds—especially between Dole and Buchanan—provoked a biting battle of words. Buchanan, noting a campaign bus he calls "The Profitable Express" through Tennessee, denounced Dole as "a hollow man." He said that if party convention organizers refused him a major speaking role, he would "break down the doors and take over." Forbes, declaring that "there is no fire for the duration," denounced Dole's policies in a word as "void."

Dole, expressing faith among Republicans that Buchanan might form his own party—or seek to join Texas billionaire Ross Perot's new Reform party—stepped back at the former White House speechwriter and TV talk-show host. "He says he's a Republican one day," said Dole. "The next day, he's talking about a third party. That's not the way we build our party. That's the way we tear it down. Because a little group without any influence at all in American government, American politics." Asked whether he would seek Buchanan's support, Dole replied: "I'm not going to put my hand out and get it chopped off."

Unless Buchanan's pugna approach can be turned and Dole's acerbic sarcasm restrained, Dole's victory may prove as hollow as his contention that the party is unified. The rifts exposed in the often abusive association campaign remain to be healed if the party's convention in San Diego is to escape the debate debates that marred the previous national party assembly four years ago in Houston. Buchanan played a lead role in what was an assessment at the time termed "Dole-kill" only.

Even before Dole's triumph last week, the Senate leader portrayed the party's internal dispute as serious combat. The scrapyard setting for his Atlanta speech itself was clearly chosen to draw fire that mainstream Republicans may represent the worker's interest as well as, or better than, Buchanan, who companies spend the loss of jobs to trade and corporate downsizing. (A past sign behind Dole as he spoke: "Bob Dole and members of Central Metals Recycling exports to real U.S. jobs.") And he appeared to a Jewish-owned business with a Jewish-American labor force stung as an implicit rebuke to anti-Semitism and racism (Buchanan has been openly accused of both). "There is a light going on right now—a struggle, that's a better word—up for the heart and soul of the Republican party," said Dole. "We need to reach out to everyone in America."

As Dole regained his original position as the favorite in the nomination race, the rush to his camp became a stampede. Among the first was Newt Gingrich, albeit in a readabout by Gingrich once he denied Dole. His frequently resurrected glow of a decade ago denied Dole as "the big collector for the white race." Gingrich openly on several challenges Dole for the presidential nomination had year ahead challenging a Dole for the presidential nomination in Georgia, his home state. The day before the nominating election in Georgia, his home state, Gingrich cast an absentee ballot in Washington, then he refused to tell reporters who he voted for. But a Gingrich staffer said a Dole staffer, Dole, praising a charge of congressional supporters pressed for his campaign speech, added his thanks to Gingrich "for voting absentee for Bob Dole this morning—I appreciate that." Acknowledging Gingrich's "I would never regret for anything of the next process," Bob Dole is a close personal friend and great leader—and I did vote for him this morning."

After Junior Tuesday, Dole's two main rivals—rivals—Senator Alexander, former Tennessee governor, and Richard Lugar, the Indi-

ana senator—dropped out and endorsed Dole. (Only two days earlier, Alexander had been repudiating his campaign pitch that "Senator Dole represents not many ideas.") That effectively reduced the field, nine strong in January, in Dole, Forbes and Buchanan.

Dole, aiming to finish off Forbes and Buchanan in a vote-rich Texas and Florida, also won important support from the leading local Republicans as these voters—the sons of his onetime political enemy, former president George Bush. Texas Gov. George W. Bush, one of the only Republican state leaders who had withheld public approval, and Jeb Bush, who narrowly lost a 1994 election for Florida's governorship, spoke up for Dole at a ceremony for the candidate in Austin, the Texas capital. There, Dole paid a visit to the former president in Houston. He received a warm nod of approval from Bush senior, who has been cold to Dole since they competed for the presidential nomination in 1988. A photo-op conversation, between two men of few words and sometimes verbose sentences, was a classic

## Dole takes a clear lead in the fractious battle for the Republican nomination

Anti-Buchanan rally in Massachusetts pugnacious



in cryptography. Dole, sitting in Bush's favorite White House chair, at his host's invitation "I'll do all night. I could get used to it." Bush "Don't forget, it's not just me."

Whether Dole ever gets to occupy his own chair in the Oval Office depends first of all on winning the nomination vote. His campaign spending is reported to be approaching a legal ceiling for private donations and matching federal money he receives under election law. He must also strive to emerge from the nomination process with a party able to suppress its wrenching internal disputes at least until the November election.

Among his party problems stands the potential danger of a Republican caucus state's decision to block all conservative voters in the 1992 presidential election and allowed Clinton to win. Last week, in an interview with The Washington Post, Dole said that he opposes any alliance with Buchanan. "His message is incoherent," he said. But Perot's Reform party is gaining to get its name in the November ballot in a state-by-state drive, although, as far as he has succeeded so far, he states. He foresees a Reform convention round Labor Day, with party members deciding who should run for the U.S. presidency in November.

Even without Perot as a spoiler, the Republicans face in Clinton a onetime campaigner already proving his readiness to bend to almost any political bribe and co-opt Republicans policies. Indeed, Clinton's recent speeches seem almost an echo of Dole's repeated campaigning that the Republican arena is a "conservative" in Clinton's five-year Mitt Romney has his way into office in 1992.

After capturing New York last week, Dole noted that "on January, Bill Clinton spoke to me from the White House and said, 'The era of big government is over.' Tonight, New York spoke to the White House and said, 'Yes, and the era of Bill Clinton is over, too.' Three days earlier in his Atlanta scrapyard speech, Dole touched on the one thing that the American arena is a "conservative" in Clinton's five-year Mitt Romney has his way into office in 1992. "This race is far from over," he said. "And even if we're successful tomorrow, it's going to go on and on, and probably on." □

# Stuck in the middle

Canada protests Washington's bill on Cuba trade

For Cuban-Americans in Minnesota, trade on President Clinton's Avenue to Freedom bill has a bitter aftertaste. One had a poster around his neck reading "Don't deal with murderers." Another wore a placard declaring "Cuba the killer." They were trading through the streets to support the Clinton administration's bill, the toughest yet with Cuba since the 1960s. The law is designed to force the Communist dictator from office by punishing Canada and other countries who trade with the Caribbean island, thereby choking its economy. "Why does Canada do business with criminals?" yelled one of the protesters. "Go back to Canada." Inside the Senate, North Carolina Republican Jesse Helms compared Canada's \$800 million worth of annual trade with Cuba to Neville Chamberlain's appeasement of Adolf Hitler just before the Second World War. Canadians, he blustered, should "be ashamed" of themselves. "You became part of what you condemn."

The once-stalled bill that Helms authored with Indiana Representative Dan Burton passed easily in the Senate by 78 to 22 votes, and by an even more lopsided 336 to 86 in the House the next day. The Feb. 28 downing of two civilian American airplanes by Cuban jet fighters has sparked outrage in the United States, and politicians are wary of appearing soft on Castro in an election year. President Bill Clinton, who had earlier threatened to veto the bill, was so sure it was his work.

The move forced Canada into a three-day clash, pitting its longtime friendship with Cuba against relations with Washington. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien announced a regional protest against the U.S. law from his sun-drenched perch at a resort in Capri, Italy. He said he was "deeply concerned" about the U.S. action with caution against trading into trade retaliation. "Perhaps after the election we will be able to talk to Senator Helms and others more rationally," offered Chrétien over the telephone to Ottawa. He expressed his hope that Clinton will use a key provision in the law that gives the President a waiver to block future action against Canada. Ottawa has the backing of the European Union, which accounts for 45 per cent of Canada's foreign trade. And Mexico—a top investor in Cuba along with Canada and Spain—said that, like Canada, it may register its opposition to the new law with the secretary of the North American Free Trade

Agreement. NAFTA guarantees free movement of business people across borders.

The provision that cautions is aimed at luring foreign joint ventures to Cuba. It allows Cuban-Americans to sue U.S. courts to pursue international firms avoiding its property expropriated by the Castro regime following the 1959 revolution. Another clause bars executives of firms that have benefited from ex-

proportionate assets—and their families—from entering the United States. Toronto-based Sherrell International Corp., led by outgoing CEO Ian Sherrell, is the largest Canadian asset. Sherrell's nickel mine at Moa Bay was originally built by Freeport Sulphur Co. of New Orleans in 1959. It had only just started shipping nickel concentrate to Freeport's refinery in Louisiana when it was seized by Castro in the summer of 1966. Freeport, now called Freeport-McMoran, will just discuss the specifics of its claims against the property, but U.S. reports put the Moa Bay claim at \$135 million. According to Sherrell, its deal with the Cubans underlies it for any damages. Still, the mere threat of litigation could not only discourage Sherrell's lenders and suppliers, but operators as well.



Canada's Delta Hotel chain, which has seven joint ventures in Cuba, says no land is

Cuba that was expropriated, but is still watching Ottawa's response closely. Said spokeswoman Marjorie Sherman: "We are a Canadian company doing business with a legal trading partner and we expect the government to defend our interests." But the Helms-Burton bill was not viewed as bad news for all Canadian-Cuban business. "We think this is very positive for us," said David Allen, chairman of Toronto-based York Medical Inc. York Medical has secured a number of licenses to Cuban pharmaceuticals. Since, as Allen says, "any rapprochement between the American and Cuban scientific communities is a nonstarter," a major competitor for future pharmaceutical and biotech agreements has been removed from the field.

Nonetheless, in the view of most Canadian players, the application of American laws to individuals or corporations outside the United States sets a chilling precedent by ray-

ing roughed over the sovereignty of other nations. That opinion was widely shared in Europe and the Caribbean—not to mention in Cuba itself. "Even if I don't agree with my government, it is the job of my citizens to change the system or keep them in power," said one Havana resident. While the Cuban government was grateful for Canadian support against the U.S. hardline policy, officials feared negative fallout from overseas businessmen. "Investors will still come to Cuba, but they will come with caution," said Carlos Fernández de Cossío, head of the Cuban Foreign Ministry's North America sector.

U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor was adamant that the United States at no time has the right to take action against Canadian firms trading in Cuba, through its national security provision in NAFTA, that same trade of Tokyo in Washington are greatly sym-



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WORLD

help to the Canadian view and any implementation of the bill will be refused. Maybe, but former Canadian free trade negotiator Gordon Ritchie, who now runs the Ottawa-based consulting firm Strategics, believes that Cuban Canadian trade is falling victim to humanitarian politics. "The Americans are not at all," he suggests Mr. Klotz go back and read NAFTA. Ritchie believes that if negotiation fails Ottawa should answer Washington's protectionism with more protectionism.

Protectionist policies are increasingly straining relations between the two countries, which have also chafed recently over softwood lumber and magazine publishing. Yet another dispute developed last week after the United States declared that Canada has no right to restrict international traffic through British Columbia's Inside Passage, a 750-mile strait between Vancouver Island and the B.C. coast. The statement was a response to Canada's 1996 introduction of a \$1,500-fee-for-an-American-fishing-boats that use the passage. Underlying the simmering disagreement in Canada's view that U.S. fishing boats catch far more than their share of B.C. salmon. Ottawa last week rejected American demands that Canada return more than \$300,000 in transit fees collected so far the B.C. Premier Glen Clark said Canada should be "tougher" "This is critical to the future of our salmon fishing industry and we need a strong response."

International Trade Minister Art Eggleston is weighing a response to both the British Columbia and Cuba issues. It will get the new American analysts say Canadian undersecretary-to-trade Peter Gosselin in the United States, particularly in Florida, home of most of the 1.1 million Cuban-Americans. "Clinton decided he had little to lose by assisting Canada and everything to lose by pleasing Florida," said Larry Shires, director of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, a Washington-based think tank. Clinton's likely Republican opponent, Senator Bob Dole, voted in favor of the Cuba bill, declaring: "We are sending a clear message that the time for Fidel Castro has come and gone."

That American hostility cooled last week in Montreal last week as representatives from Washington and Havana presented dramatically diverging versions of last month's attack to the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). Cuban National Assembly president Ricardo Alarcon blasted the United States for backing "thieves in the Bureau," the Miami-based group that armed the planes and regularly seizes the water south of Florida for fleeing Cubans. Alarcon argued that the planes were Cuban's 12-mile territorial limit and that the group has repeatedly violated Cuban airspace over the past two years—even dropping "submarine propaganda" over the capital in January. There were similar reports at a UN Security

Council debate the same day in New York City. Madeleine Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, contended that the Cubans "knowingly, willfully and in broad daylight shot down two aircraft that were on armed and deadly armed in civilian."

Talks between Washington and Havana degenerated by week's end, with Cuba threatening to bar U.S. commercial airlines from flying through its airspace—which

*'Clinton decided he had little to lose'*



Eggleston in Washington: weighing action

would cost it thousands in fees from the 120 daily flights. The ICAO has 60 days to report to the Security Council, which may then intercede against one or both or the other. For Canada, the challenge remains how to influence the United States during its own week of warlike Cuba. Trade relations in one opinion, viewed as risky by many. But Republican foreign affairs critic Bob Mills is among those who suggest that Clinton remain United States of Canada's current assistance to the United States in Haiti. More than 700 Canadian soldiers are replacing American UN troops that Clinton wanted out. In talks with U.S. officials this week, Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy hopes to get a commitment that will minimize the new law's effects on Canadians. But White House newspapers have not been quick to concede. In fact, with the law specifying that any presidential waiver occur on Aug. 1, shortly before the official start of the presidential campaign, U.S. domestic politics could again cloud the views over Cuba.

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## CHECHNYA FIGHTING

Russian troops and Chechen separatists fought hard to land in Grozny, Chechnya's capital, after Moscow launched a new offensive in the troubled southern region. The battle followed a statement by President Boris Yeltsin that he would soon unveil a new "peace plan." An Russian regained control in Grozny, a pro-Chechen gun was hijacked, a Turkish diplomat withdrew from Cyprus and took it to Munich. There, he freed all 100 hostages in exchange for speaking to reporters.

## HUMAN RIGHTS SCAN

The United States failed some of its closest friends, including Egypt, Mexico, Turkey and Saudi Arabia, as well as China and Russia, for continuing human-rights violations. In its annual review of conditions in 194 countries, the state department also noted concern in Canada about Quebec, including "operations with radical or even terrorist agendas on both ends of the separatist-federal spectrum."

## HONG KONG PLEDGE

British Prime Minister John Major told Hong Kong people they would "never walk alone" after China renounces sovereignty over the colony on July 1, 1997. Warning Hong Kong, Major said that after 1997 local passport holders would be allowed visa-free travel to Britain and minorities would be welcomed if they were pressured to leave Hong Kong. He promised that Britain would watch for violations of its joint declaration with China on the colony.

## KEYORKIAN ACQUITTED

For the second time in three years, Dr. Jack Kevorkian was found not guilty for assisting in two suicides. The 61-year-old witness Michigan legislator said that by acquitting him, the jury had "restored the dignity and the memory of the patients involved." Kevorkian had been charged with violating a new-law Michigan law against assisting in a suicide. He could have been sentenced to as much as four years in prison.

## BATTILING EBOLA

In Zaire, Western and African nations joined in a new partnership to fight the deadly ebola virus and other epidemics. Delegates to the world's first ebola conference said more cooperation was needed in countries at risk. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control pledged its support.

## World NOTES



Taiwan troops training in camouflage last week, island defiance

## The heat rises from China's missile tests

With Taiwan's first presidential election campaign in full swing, China began a week-long round of missile tests dangerously close to the sensitive island. It warned allies that its targets were 30 miles from the northern port of Keelung and 31 miles from the southern port of Keelung. Taipei said the first missile—unarmed M-9 surface-to-surface rockets—landed in those areas. Some analysts saw the maneuvers as a de facto

blockade. Taiwan officials remained defiant. "If they trespass into our territorial waters, of course we will fight back," said Defense Minister Chiang Chang-Tai. Nervous residents stocked up on food and fled to bunkers to watch survivors to U.S. dollars. The already depressed stock market lost further ground.

Beijing accuses President Lee Teng-hui of secretly favoring independence for Taiwan, which has run its own government since the nationalists fled there in 1949 after losing China's civil war to the communists. Lee, who is expected to win the March 23 election, made his back to central reunification with the mainland, but China has viewed his aggressive independent foreign policy as a serious challenge to its "one China" stand. Beijing says a declaration of independence would mean war. The United States condemned the missile tests as "provocative and reckless" and warned of unspecified "consequences" if it went wrong. House Speaker Newt Gingrich called the tests a terrorist act.

## U.S. soldiers jailed for rape

Three American servicemen in Japan were jailed for the rape of an Okinawa schoolgirl that has caused U.S.-Japan relations. Calling the crime "especially heinous," the three judge court

sentenced Maj. Seamus Mirra, 23, and U.S. Marine Pfc. Rodolfo Hupp, 21, to seven years for the abduction and rape of the 15-year-old girl in a rented room on Sept. 4. Marine Pfc. Kendrick Ladet, 20, of an additional half year because the court accepted his confession that he had not been intoxicated with the girl. He admitted rape, Hupp had

defied it. The incident led to angry protests by Okinawans, who have long opposed the presence of 27,000 U.S. troops on the southern island. Major Mirra was sentenced to 10 years in prison. Ladet's sentence was halved to three years because he pleaded guilty. Japan's conviction may legal system "is just" and that they would appeal.

## Dickering in Spain

Spain was caught in political deadlock after voters passed socialist Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez but did not give any party a parliamentary majority. Jose Maria Aznar's conservative Popular Party, which came up 20 seats short of the 176 needed for control, began protracted negotiations with the 16-seat Conservative and Popular groups. The group, from the wealthy northwestern area of Catalonia, was best at driving a



Aznar trying to form a government

hard bargain for greater regional autonomy before offering its support. Aznar secured the backing of a smaller party with four seats, potentially consolidating a majority. But his party, though welcomed by the Catalans for its pro-business stance, has long opposed regional separatism. Aznar warned that the country might have to endure new elections by the summer if the dickering dragged on. Socialist leader Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, had held power for nearly 14 years.

# TARGETING TERROR

Tel Aviv destruction:  
bomber Shugrout  
(right): a roll call  
of the innocent victims



Devastating suicide bombings put Israel on a war footing and threaten the peace process



where Jews and Palestinians live side by side in the occupied territories of the West Bank, or Jerusalem, the contested, ghettoized capital. Tel Aviv prides itself on being *has and love*. It is a slightly bawdy beachfront city—more liberal and more cosmopolitan (more Palestine, say many Jewish Jews) than other Israeli cities. The bombing at the Dizengoff Center, while hardly representing a loss of innocence, proved a national conviction of grief and anger that led even the most dovish Israelis questioning the way ahead.

In the past two years, by a slim if shaky majority, Israelis have supported peace negotiations with Palestinians led by Yasser Arafat. They have steadily handed back territories and towns conquered during the 1967 Six Day War under the promise that peace and security would follow the establishment of democratic Palestinian self-rule. But with demonstrable chaos marred by images of blood-stained city sidewalks and the tears of waiting survivors, never has that bargain seemed such a chimera. "People are starting to feel like they are victims of a rat trap," says Jerusalem resident David Glickson, now questioning his own support for the deal. "This is the first time I have felt such desperation, such helplessness. We are afraid to leave our homes. They know when to strike, where to strike, how to hurt us the most. And we know so little about them."

The peace process appears just as vulnerable. There have been at least six months of progress, but the reaction to each one has become almost customary: disaster and setbacks were followed by a period of mourning; angry protests ensued from hard-line Israelis opposed to any accommodation with the Palestinians, and then the wheels of the peace talks resolutely ground back into motion. Last week, conflict was being dealt by rote. The predictable "Death to Arabs" chant at radical Jews was matched this time by a temporary but deep plunge in popular support for Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres. After the murder of his predecessor, Yitzhak Rabin, by an Israeli extremist last November, Peres remains the political and personal embodiment of the peace process. The Israelis came at the beginning of a three-month general election campaign that is effectively a referendum on whether to continue swapping land for security. With the stakes so high and Israeli cities anything but secure, Peres struck back aggressively, putting his peace deal on hold for now in the hope of striking a later.

Palestinian police kick in a door on part of crackdown in Gaza. "We will not stop until we destroy Hamas in its roots"



Internationally, concern grew so intense that key world leaders, led by U.S. President Bill Clinton, planned to hold a summit in Egypt this week on countering terrorism. Prime Minister Jean Chretien said he would attend. Clinton was set to travel on to Israel in hopes of showing up support for peace. But Peres's strategy emphasized collective punishment: the Palestinians, as "the enemy in every sense of the word," as he put it. He slapped curfews and closures on Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, effectively locking them up and preventing them from traveling to their jobs in Israel. He also launched military-style raids to try to break Hamas's ability to wage terror, and encouraged Arafat's Palestinian Authority to do the same in areas it controls. Hamas is the main political rival to Arafat's authority, perennial rival in Palestinian territories.

Families of the bombers watched on their homes were notified about in preparation for the

In this holiest of lands, there is nothing particularly sacred about the intersection of King George and Dizengoff boulevards in downtown Tel Aviv. No prophets are buried on the spot. There are no slabs of ancient rock to be worshipped or fought over. The site is dominated by gaudy cars and that most banal of contributions to 20th-century architecture: a sprawling concrete, glass and chrome shopping mall called the Dizengoff Center. So when a young Muslim extremist chose a warm holiday afternoon to lie down on a street corner (near the mall's automatic teller machines and those around him) to plant his piece, the attack of a target that could have been in any city, any place, where 300 victims were an indiscriminate roll call of the innocent: Gal Bellas, shopping for her daughter's wedding dress, Dina Tivonky,



ON ASSIGNMENT  
BRUCE WALLACE  
IN GAZA

walking to work for exercise, also recent open-heart surgery; 12-year-old Yoram Lang, who was coming out of a movie theater. They and 14 others died on March 4, just going about their lives. That was the most chilling part of it.

The suicide bombing was the fourth in six days by the military wing of the fundamentalist Islamic religious brotherhood called Hamas. In all they killed 52 civilians, and did previous damage to the ever-flickering spirit of peace and reconciliation in the Middle East. But the Tel Aviv bombing inflicted perhaps the most traumatic psychological wound yet on a nation grown increasingly accustomed—though not immune—to living with violence. Israelis have fought five wars and countless skirmishes since their independence in 1948, been victimized by terrorists and responded with brutality of their own. But most of the violence has occurred

long-standing Israeli practice of demilitarization. First it came down was the house of Rami Shalim, an educated 40-year-old who blew up a bus in Jerusalem, killing 19, the day before the Tel Aviv bombings. The Jerusalem attack had followed by a week, almost to the minute, a similar suicide-bomb there that killed 24 on the same bus. 18 bus lines, as well as a bus to connect Ashdod to Tel Aviv, were more heavily guarded, along with the border.

As the crackdown raged on, hundreds of Hamas sympathizers were jailed. The popular Hamas social network of Islamic schools, community centers and break-dance was closed. "We will not stop until we destroy Hamas down to its roots," vowed Brig-Gen Ghan Jubah, head of the Palestinian police.

That was what Israeli and many Palestinians wanted to hear but few were having his message. In the weeks officials gave Jubah a list of 12 Hamas leaders they wanted arrested, but the black-clad police chief offered only an enigmatic smile when asked how many his force had found. "It's a secret," he whispered one day last week, then quickly broke it, saying "We've arrested about an eighth of them." His men also showed off the results of their raids for the world's media to view. It was a sorry racialized spectacle: a few bones of bullets and battered home-made guns that looked more like devices to recover nightgowns as blow them. The armory would hardly cripple Hamas military efforts, which experts say are well funded and supplied primarily from Iran. The Hamas weapon of choice is a vest of explosives strapped under the clothing of a suicide who, inspired by a video of Yehuda Ayyub, its charismatic Hamas terrorist nicknamed "The Engineer" for his record of organizing bomb attacks made Israel, last January, Ayyub was killed in a Gaza refugee camp when he took a call on a cellular phone that was pinned to his side. The blast didn't have to be big. Ayyub was killed, and Israeli agents were conventionally assumed to have arranged the tactically sophisticated assassination.

Others say the true reason for the recent surge in killings are more narrowly driven. The bombings all appear to have been disciples of Yehuda Ayyub, a charismatic Hamas terrorist nicknamed "The Engineer" for his record of organizing bomb attacks made Israel, last January, Ayyub was killed in a Gaza refugee camp when he took a call on a cellular phone that was pinned to his side. The blast didn't have to be big. Ayyub was killed, and Israeli agents were conventionally assumed to have arranged the tactically sophisticated assassination.

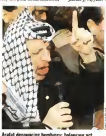
There is a personal element at work here, almost a cult," says Seth Newsham, president of AJ-Yuda University in Jerusalem. "These latest bombings were all by students of Ayyub. He taught them, he was killed, and they want to avenge his death. We are talking about a very, very small group of individuals—maybe 10-15 of whom four have already detonated themselves. They are not working under the political leadership of Hamas, and it is an exaggeration to look at the bombings as the beginning of a major uprising project. The challenge for Israel and Ayyub is to not let actions that will no longer allow us to become more radical."

Calibrating the use of force—how hard to squeeze Hamas before the repression squeezes a backlash—is indeed a delicate task and the hopes for peace may depend on getting it



## If we mourn too much, our enemies will win out

Crowds jostle through banded Jerusalem lanes, funeral for a victim (right), Pnina Baski: "They know when to strike, when to strike, how to hurt us the most, and we know so little about them."



Ayyub denouncing bombings; balancing act



right. To harden Israelis like former defense minister Ariel Sharon, now an opposition Likud party parliamentarian, "inaugurating every citizen, protecting every bus, too, state as a business is patently insane. We must achieve our own efficiency." Sharon has tried that approach before and clearly wants another crack. But the dry, rocky land of Israel is minus a cushion of oil-to-fuel violence, with claims and counterclaims having long obscured original sin.

A defining wind is blowing off the Mediterranean Sea through Gaza City, mercilessly dispersing Gaza's tobacco dust but making a historic day pretty odd. Outside the Rastafar N Shomem Culture Center there is a burst of musical pump and a heavy presence of Palestinian Authority police as Ayyub prepares to open the inaugural session of the Palestinian Legislative Council. He, too, engaged in a fine balancing act. The ultimate sacrifice of deadly Palestinian power struggles, Ayyub must now maintain the Hamas show to prove to the Israelis and the international community that he is an answerer partner in peace. But in the process, he must be careful not to alienate that minority—which most analysts suggest ranges up to 30 percent of Palestinians who are sympathetic to the Hamas vision of an Islamic society.

Ayyub clearly is not prepared to influence either side. "I am greeting all my people, all of them," he utters, still appearing in fine military fatigues despite the heat, his hand chopping the air but emphatic. He attends a special greeting to Shik Al-Ramzi Nasser, the pam-

pered 60-year-old Hamas leader who is a man Israel justly is fearing a murderous attack inside the country. And Ayyub shares Israel for its visceral response to the bombings, including Pnina's new to pursue wanted Hamas members into areas under Palestinian control. "The problems of the Middle East can't be solved by bombs," he says. "The way can be solved by dialogue, or war, or collective resistance."

Ayyub has paraded that he can bring the middle-class, middle-aged, moderate elements of Hamas inside political arena, trying to convince them that even if they still wish for Jerusalem, they should at least postpone it. Hamas did refuse to participate in the elections in January for the 16-member Legislative Council, that they also lost to Ayyub's argument that they too had been driven out of the polls earlier. And there had not been a bomb for seven months. "Ayyub said to Hamas, 'better you come on board, but if

you don't, please remain peaceful.'"

says interim president Nasser. "And still now, no-one was working."

The Ayyub killing changed that. "The first step is what we are looking for now was the killing of Ayyub," says Abuhammad Abu Jaber, a respected vegetable farmer in the southern Gaza Strip. He sits in his sprawling living room, the sun setting behind him, and says that everyone knew that violence was coming. "All of the people loved Ayyub. He was a respected man, and a man said to love such a character. When the Israelis killed him, we knew something was coming in the West. We were angry, but we were also afraid."

Ayyub seemed spreading trouble, too. He attended Ayyub's funeral, describing him glowingly as a martyr. "I thought Ayyub was Ayyub's enemy as much as my enemy," says Jerusalem teacher Gonen, describing the confusion in Israeli minds at Ayyub's behavior. "When Ayyub was a man, a state leader. We keep getting these dual messages." Hamas, he realized, took its hostile revenge on Israel anyway in Gaza, the Israeli border closure has caused financial hardship on working Gazans. "Hamas knew what the situation was in Gaza, and this July, 'Our own criticism point to the world through Israel, and they had to know that it

in our children who will suffer with less money now, less to eat."

But the Hamas hard core is playing the long game. In a chilly bookshop across the street from the sound Islamic University in Gaza City, another young Hamas militant who nervously sits in a table, slams his head suddenly with a smile, and expresses as much jubilation for Ayyub's assassination as for the Israelis. "The only people getting jobs are Ayyub's lieutenants and their families—that is what people in Gaza are thinking about," he says, his brow furrowed, brown eyes showing anger. "People are saying that things were better during the intifada," he says of the six-year rock-throwing civil uprising against the Israeli occupation. "Now, we have a new occupation—by Ayyub's family. They are here to control the orders of the families, and everyone is afraid to speak against Ayyub. During the intifada, the Israelis would put you in prison. But with Ayyub, now you can get killed."

"Yet Ayyub has not been harsh enough with Hamas for the Israeli liking. 'We are giving Ayyub a last chance, and a relatively short time, to discontinue these organizations, arrest the activists and disarm them,'" Foreign Minister Elihu Ben-El-Mechaieq says. "The Israeli will be willing to criticize Pnina for going too far. Yehuda Ben-El-Mechaieq, executive director of

# How North Americans help Hamas

If Yoniss, a human-rights agency that has been the base of Israeli governments in the past, did urge Peres not to punish the Palestinians for their role in the intifada, "A basic rule of law is the principle of individual responsibility," he said. "If people are unwilling to look into human rights at such an unusual time, they should ask if the measures will be effective. In knocking down the house of a five-year-old minor leader with a missile, Israel is likely to make him support the peace process when he is too young."

After the second Jerusalem bus bombing, the number of bus passengers fell by half, according to the transit authority, and the sight of non-peace-loving buses traveling past the windows of the Tel Aviv Blvd was eerie. The attacks sapped any spirit or joy from this year's Purim celebrations, the carnival-like Jewish festival that Israelis themselves are tremendously proud of. "Because of our experience of war and terrorism, most children or adults are terrified with festive events and know how to be afraid then," says Reuven Shalev, director of the Jerusalem city psychology service. "If we assume too much, our enemies will win out. We want to live."

Former Israeli president Chaim Herzog reminded others of a host of attacks and massacres on Israelis this century, saying that "in most cases we succeeded in brushing off the feeling of despair, both national and personal. We buried our dead, pulled up our sleeves, and created the Jewish state." That observation would apply to the deep middle ground of public opinion that never regards the peace deal as a cause for pumping into optimism for joy, nor seeing it as an omen for the end of the Israeli state. It's worth noting, Peres's poll numbers had recovered to a level with Likud, indicating that his calculated hard line was at least paying some political dividends.

But the last few weeks have been shaken whatever faith Israelis had in Peres's hopes of a multiethnic, democratic Middle East. "Israelis perceive Peres as being soft because of all his high talk about a 'new' Middle East, with an intermingling of peoples," said one Western diplomat. "That stops some freedom acts."

Yet Palestinians, too, face tough choices, with potentially historic repercussions. Will they allow these people full citizenship in the violent overthrow of Israel to operate calmly in their midst? Can they forget old grudges, or will many of them continue to cheer news of attacks on Jews? "I'm cynical about new 'nonviolent' mass demonstrations for peace organized by Arafat," says Grossman. "That's the sort of stuff you expect from Saddam Hussein. What I want to see is the average Palestinian saying, 'I know my neighbor. It's a suicide bomber.' And then tell the police. I would stop every demonstrator anywhere from leaving such crushing support behind. But it would put most Israelis and Palestinians on the same side." □

The purpose of the meetings, held in Toronto-area schools, community centres or mosques, is usually to open secret. Advertised as social events featuring entertainers or guest lecturers, they also include a collection of money from the audience. Attracting as many as 500 people at a time from the Arab and Muslim communities, the evening fundraisers can raise between \$5,000 and \$80,000, said Rashid Saleh, president of Mossawa, an Arab-Palestinian House, a social and cultural organization for Arab Canadians. The organizers declare, vaguely, that the money is being to support the Palestinian people. "That, according to Saleh, usually means Hamas,

going to specific organizations." But experts on terrorism and Middle Eastern affairs are deeply divided on the effectiveness of government efforts to control Hamas supporters in North America. Rick Krevil, former head of anti-terrorism for the FBI, said that pro-Hamas organizations have continued operating simply by changing names and setting up at new locations. He said the arrest in New York City last July of Mousa Mohammed Abu Marook, a Hamas leader who lived in the United States and allegedly raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for the group, shows the scope of fund-raising operations. Others, like Vincent Carosso, former head of counterterrorism opera-



Hamas school in Gaza: an open secret about who the funds are for

the extensive Islamic organization known for both its humanitarian work and its violent terrorist bombing campaign against Israel. "They don't specifically provide Israel," he said, "but everyone is the community knows where the money is going."

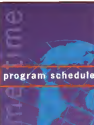
As the Hamas wave of terror has ebbed over the past two years, Canadian and American authorities have stepped up their efforts to halt the flow of money to the organization from North American supporters. In January, 1995, President Bill Clinton issued an executive order freezing the assets of a dozen American organizations suspected of having links to Middle East terrorist groups. Following the most recent bombings, Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Austin said Ottawa is determined to investigate and stop Hamas fund-raising activities in Canada. And Meekins has learned that the federal government has launched an informal review to ensure that no government funds have reached Hamas indirectly through international aid organizations. Said John Suley, a Middle East expert at Colgate University, "It would mean the federal government is taking steps to ensure that they've all been asked about foreign aid

from the CIA, despite. "There's still some hand-carrying here for Hamas, but it's small change," he said.

Hamas's two sources of financing—charity and terrorism—make it a difficult organization to investigate. Many North American donors may be legitimately giving money to support hospitals, schools, medical centres and other social services that the organization provides for Palestinians in the Gaza and West Bank. The donors may have no way of determining how much money is earmarked to support terrorist activities.

For many devout Muslims, says Saleh, donating to Hamas is one way of performing a religious duty. "According to Islamic tradition, every Muslim who is well-off has to donate to the poor," he said. "So as long as you tell them the money is going to Palestinians in refugee camps, they don't care who is collecting the money." That means the trail of North American money to Hamas is often murky, and perhaps is indefensible.

BYRON JENSEN with Peter Singer in New York City



## program schedule

7:00 **EARLY EDITION**  
WITH ANNE PETRIE

8:00 **THE LEAD**  
WITH ALISON SMITH

8:30 **FACE OFF** WITH  
CLAUDIA HOY & JUDY BEBICK

9:00 **PAMELA WALLIN LIVE**

10:00 **NEWSWORLD MARQUEE**

11:00 **THE NATIONAL**  
WITH PETER MANSBRIDGE

11:30 **THE NATIONAL SPORTS**  
WITH RAGNIE DOWLING

11:55 **LAST WORD**

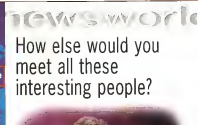
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## Why bombers choose to die for a cause

# THE TRUE BELIEVERS

BY NOMI MOHRREIS

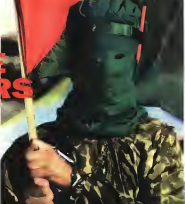
**A**bed Karim Shapovalov was pounding dough in a brick bakery on March 3 when his son, Aziel, blew himself up, along with 18 Israelis in the No. 18 bus on Jerusalem's Jaffa Road. The Baker's Son, as he was known affectionately in Arava, was the third of just four young men who in one terrifying week were able to charter the plane hours of the morning. Aziel, 24, was one of the other bombers Israeli authorities identified last week, was studying to become a teacher. He was a "quiet, sincere" youth, says Motti Seitz, a fellow villager from Be'erzeva in the West Bank. "He used to teach my younger brother Arikah, grade 10." Aziel's sister Anat says the family had no idea of her brother's involvement with the leadership of Gush Katif Brigades, the military wing of Hamas, the Islamic resistance movement. Speaking quietly through her father's shoulder as Israeli soldiers entered a 24-hour curfew in the town, Anat said her brother was a

"believer"—one different than many in the region, who scorned the assassination last January of Hamas' founding "engineer," Yehiya Ayyash. "He was upset, but not really more than that," she said. "He had friends whom he sometimes met—that's all I know."

International experts know little more about the psychology of suicide bombers, a rare breed among even the most extreme members of any political or religious movement. "The exact evidence does not show anything clearly abnormal," says Ariel Merari, head of political violence research at Tel Aviv University.

And the globe—in Berlin, as in Beirut, even in North America—has been torn to be drawn by the dubious glory of offering up their lives to bombs for a cause. What drives them? Who are they?

Typically, they are males in their late teens and early twenties from middle- or lower-middle-class backgrounds, often well-educated and above all, raised in an atmosphere of perpetual conflict. They may be poor, though in Israel that is not religion, say experts, but cities and unacknowledged aspirations that speak their poverty down the long, unlit road toward martyrdom. It is a legacy often highly revered in the local culture. An untimely death can be a someone like those who are suitably praised psychologically. Playing on all these points,



## THE TAMIL TIGERS

They grew up in a world of war and repression, indoctrinated by the struggle for independence from Sri Lanka. Some student warriors died meaning by volunteering to sacrifice their lives.

**HAMAS**  
They grew up in a world of protected conflict, often religious, with a family member killed or imprisoned. Some place Palestinian youth before suicide bombs offer a place in heaven.

guerrilla takes suicide risk that imprudent young people in Iran for the rule of human rights.

In the case of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, most of the 50 suicide bombers who have taken at least 132 lives since 1994 came from families who were refugees from the 1948 war over the creation of Israel. Often they had a relative or close friend who had been killed, maimed or imprisoned by Israeli occupation forces. Bad Shapovalov had never been jailed by the Israelis, as many of his classmates were. But his elder brother Muhammad, 20, was paralyzed in a right leg after being hit by a bullet in 1990 during the Palestinian military protests. Bad was deeply embittered by his brother's disability, which prevented him from contributing to the family income, says Ariel Anat. Shapovalov was poor. But many other suicide bombers were not. Neither poverty nor religious extremism alone can be blamed as the driving force, say terrorism experts. In Lebanon, for example, two-thirds of the suicide bombings, which peaked between 1983 and 1993, were conducted by completely secular organizations, rather than the

high-profile Sha Muslim armed groups. In the West Bank and Gaza, polls show that 13- to 15 percent of Palestinians, hundreds of thousands of people, actively support the umbrella Muslim Hamas. Yet few have chosen violence. Even among militant Hamas members, 1,000 have been jailed—only about a dozen have not become suicide bombers. "The religious character of the attacker is not the most crucial factor," says Merari. "Most religious people don't want to die. To commit suicide you have to be suicidal."

Merari notes that orthodox Muslims—like Orthodox Jews—believe they will go to heaven if martyred, but they consider suicide. There is certainly, he says, a fierce debate among the more militant Islamists over whether suicide is a legitimate form of jihad, or holy war, "taken upon" suicide. It believes in jihad, but the goal is to die in battle." Merari says. Even the members of New York City's World Trade Center, who sprang from Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, were inspired more by anti-American sentiments than religious faith, says to terrorism expert John Thompson, director of the Terrorism-Monitoring Institute. "Islamic fundamentalism is not really religious. The motivation is economic and ethnic expression." Still, some extreme Muslim groups have in recent years manipulated the Hamas situation to co-opt the young that there is a direct appeal of violence—particularly some apocalyptic as has begun in some nations, or religious devotion, such as the one calling for the death of another Saladin bin Laden.

In Sri Lanka, as well, the Hindu belief in reincarnation has been used by Tamil Tiger guerrillas to propagate the lore that for every freedom fighter who dies, another is born to take his place. About 1,500 Tigers have died by taking suicide rather than be captured, according to Sri Lanka's research center tracking Tamil military. Another 250 have been captured to direct suicide missions since the first Tiger—the son of a bank manager—drove a truck of explosives into a government army base in July, 1987. A sense of equality shared by boys and girls raised in regions of protected conflict around the world usually lies behind the phenomenon. There is a 48 percent of current recruits to Sri Lanka's separatist Tamil Tigers are girls. Similarly in Lebanon, some young female bombers were among the perpetrators of about 40 suicide attacks there.

Tamil journalist D. B. Jayaratne, who covered the rise of the Tigers before moving to Canada seven years ago, says high schools and universities are the main recruitment grounds. Tiger propaganda appeals to the young person's desire to avenge his or her life with suicide. "When the whole area is full of war and capturing can be the hope is easy," says Jayaratne. "The Tamil culture itself is in part they tell them. This is not the case for students. This is the time to die for it. The whole climate is really emotional."

Unlike Hamas's Gushon Brigades, Tamil Tigers do not seek out specific candidates for suicide missions. Recruitment is broadly based, and self-selection. "Once they join, the Tiger machinery clicks into place and it is very hard to get out," says Jayaratne. One in the ranks eventually volunteers to be a Black Tiger, prepared to actively seek death. They are taken for special anti-aircraft, then returned to camp with a new name and a new identity. Black Tigers go to a secret location where they draw lots. The "winner" is taken for a meal with Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran. Tiger guards publish photos of the suspicious meeting after the marketplace. The dead are also glorified in large monuments. Their families are given special treatment for life. And each year in late November, the father Tamil speaks under Great Heroes Week. Says Jayaratne, "Every if you are not a Tiger you will lose your life."

In Northern Ireland, too, where suicide bombing is not part of the culture, glorifying the Irish Republican Army's death is part of long-standing tradition. "People point to the great history of resistance," says Rev. Gerry Reynolds of Belfast's Church of Scotland. "It is seen as the new generation taking up the old flag." Reynolds, who has been involved in an international peace mission, says ordinary youth in the streets of Belfast grow up with a deep sense of loyalty and a sense of reciprocity from the IRA's political wing. Some feel expelled to join new members. "Being part of a movement that has noble ideas gives them something to live for," he says. Just last week the IRA was blamed for another bombing in London. The fourth since it called off an ceasefire Feb. 9. No one was killed that time. Says Reynolds, "You really have to have a good feeling about your life. If you [youth] are drawn in because they have a feeling of being needed."

Thompson's research warns that feelings of frustration and exclusion mean that even North American cities can be breeding grounds for future bombers. "That has not worried for our own society, with university-educated people working in universities," he says. Thompson notes that the brutal Shasta Path Movement guerrillas in Peru selected middle-class students who were they could attack the "boss class" and feel society but it. Students' alienation, as in Mexico, or the IRA's guerrilla movement, so do right-wing militias in the United States, is the kind of reaction that led directly to the death of 147 people in the April, 1995, Oklahoma bombing. "The extreme right don't see that they can have the family farm, the car, the good life they use as children," says Thompson. "The sense goes for university students to feel they are not part of it."

In Canada, where military and anti-military groups are discredited. While Thompson is not predicting a 1990s revival of the IRA—or, for that matter, analogous terrorism—the risk is present. "The more tense or more passionate the national situation becomes, the more chance there is that it will happen here," he says. It may mean a plant from far from in Vancouver to the highly charged streets of New York or the West Bank. The political violence serves to bring the emotional roots of the true believers. Bad Shapovalov was likely just a teenager for days to present him from changing his mind or inadvertently disclosing plans of the suicide mission. He may have been told it was a test of "purity," or even been lured by a religious authority before heading out for the No. 18 bus that would make him a martyr, or martyr. New Shapovalov is gone. "Was so fatal and no grave, like he never lived," says his sister. His father father has been sentenced to six months in jail for violating an Israeli without a permit, while his mother and eight other relatives have been sentenced to 18 months in jail for violating an Israeli without a permit. Washington has sent super-sensitive bomb detection equipment to Israel to help fight terrorism. But even the most sophisticated detection cannot identify which seemingly ordinary student will choose to fill his backpack or step on his body with explosives.

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THE IRA  
They grew up with a deep sense of injustice and exclusion. Some street youth in Belfast feel prey to Sinn Féin recruiters who assert that bombing British targets is part of a noble Irish tradition.

FROM MORGAN SULLIVAN IN THE NEW YORK TIMES

**T**wenty-five hundred years ago in Persia, so the legend goes, a Jew called Mordecai refused to bow down to Haman, the king's chief minister. Enraged, Haman persuaded the king that the Jews should be annihilated. But Queen Esther, Mordecai's adopted daughter, convinced the king to spare her people and accused Haman of treason. The king hanged Haman and appointed Mordecai in his place. The victorious Jews celebrated by erecting a holiday. They called it Purim which, centuries later, has become a kind of worldwide Jewish Mardi Gras—costumed and noisy. But there was little cause for celebration this year. Purim fell on Monday, March 4, and that was the day when the fourth terrorist bomb in nine days killed 13 people and injured more than 100 in Israel. So far in the historic month of Adar, Haman's legacy of hatred of Jews has claimed 57 lives—including several Arabs.



PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL WILKINSON

## 'WE CAN'T GIVE UP'

In synagogues and community centres across Canada last week, Jews gathered to pray for the latest victims of terrorism, by Hamas this time, and for friends and family members visiting or living in Israel. For most, the lead headlines and televised images of the carnage in Tel Aviv and earlier in Jerusalem either deepened fears for Middle East peace or strengthened convictions that Israel's antagonism with Arab neighbors and the PLO were a dangerous waste of time. "Some people are questioning their support for the peace process," said Rabbi Mark Dinitz of Toronto's Shalom Shomayim, "but the Jewish synagogues." "Others are now sure that their expectation to the peace process has been correct."

Yet there was widespread, if reluctant, agreement that the peace talks had to proceed. Karen Mock of Toronto, national director of the League for Human Rights of the Jewish service organization Hatziv, said the bombings filled her with "condemnation, disgust, anger and frustration." However, she added: "There is no question that most people truly want peace, but there must be peace with security for all, so we can't give up." Winnipeg lawyer Lyle Sirovkin, the league's national chairman, said that abandoning the search for peace would be a victory for Hamas. And Rabbi Dov Munnar of Toronto's Holy Blossom Temple said that while no one knew how the attacks would affect the peace negotiations, "accelerating speed is not something we should expect in the near future."

Despite their brightest anxiety, many of Canada's 320,000 Jews elected to defy Haman and celebrate Purim. Neil Lerner, publisher of the monthly newspaper *Israelite Jewish Life* and executive director of the city's Beth Shalom Synagogue, said: "We wanted to show that these people aren't going to stop us from celebrating our holidays and observing our religion." In Winnipeg, before 15,000 Jews, Sirovkin said educators and rabbis debated whether to call off the festivities but in the end elected to go ahead (although the shomeret at Joseph Winicki Collegiate, the city's Jewish high school, was called off). "To casual observers," Sirovkin said, "could be interpreted as a victory for Hamas and so you go as and do what you were supposed to." Not everyone did.



## Canadian Jews face a time of anger and dismay

den, we need it to remind us why we're Jews, we need it to remind us of what we have struggled for over the years."

Yet between Western Jew and Israeli there are profound differences—in background, experience and lifestyle. In an e-mail letter to his mother after the bombings, Karen Mock's son Steven, who is attending the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, wrote of that disconnect. "I have the Jewish for his synagogue, has an air of superiority, his identity. Yet he knows something I do not—despite my perfect English and Western culture, I need him more than he needs me. . . . I am welcomed by this country now. I want to leave on the next plane. But only if that next plane is after I have seen every night, and every person and experienced every experience that this country has to offer." A quarter-century later, perhaps, but united in mourning against a common foe.

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## BUSINESS

# SQUEEZING COSTS

With sales lagging, automakers find novel ways to save money

BY TOM FENNEL

The spiffy red 1996 Ford Escort wagon was attracting more than its share of attention. Customers who dropped by the downtown Halifax showroom at Taylor Lincoln Mercury Ford Trucks last week took turns sitting behind the wheel and leaning back into its enticing seats. They checked for trunk space and even looked the tires. But most of the shoppers recoiled when they glanced at the Escort's \$19,000 price tag. From his windowed office overlooking the showroom floor, general manager Michael Larroche has seen that reaction all too often. "It's sticker shock," says Larroche, adding, "Eighty-five per cent of the people who come in to buy a new car realize a rule: squeezing."

Consumers, of course, have been complaining for years about the high cost of a new vehicle, to no effect. But the weakened state of the North American market—in both Canada and the United States, overall sales of cars and light trucks have cratered substantially this since 1989—finally seems to have convinced automakers of the need to hold the line on price increases. To maximize their profits, vehicle manufacturers in both North America and Japan have embraced a strategy they call "decontenting"—stripping new cars of features that drivers either never use or that go unused or never even noticed.

Ford Motor Co. alone has created 1,000 employee teams over the past 18 months to scour the company's products for potential savings. The result is a long list of changes,

many of them minor, to increase the profit margin on each vehicle without necessarily raising prices. In future, Ford will no longer mount the handles of sunrises on its popular Explorer sport utility truck, a move that will save 34 cents a vehicle or roughly \$105,000 a year. Ford also plans to reduce the number of carpet fabrics in its cars from nine to four, saving \$1.60 a vehicle or \$14.8 million a year. The industry's strident attack on over-consumption such as vanity mirrors and chrome decks is also being propelled by globalists. By standardizing the same parts on an array of different vehicles, automakers can save millions of dollars every year. Ford now uses 14 types of cigarette lighters, switching to a single design of lighter will shave 16 cents off the cost of each vehicle. Other automakers are taking similar steps, and the trend is accelerating. Said George McCabe, senior vice-president at Detroit-based Mustang Motors of America Inc., "We have not seen so many decontented cars come to market in full bloom yet."

For consumers, the question is whether these changes will reduce the problem of

sticker shock, or make new cars less desirable. A decade ago, says Toronto automotive analyst Dennis Deslauriers, the average cost of a new car was equal to 30 weeks' gross income for a typical Canadian worker. Now, that figure is up to 51 weeks. Partly as a result, sales of new cars and light trucks totaled 1.2 million in 1995, lower than at any time since 1983. The affordability issue is one reason why sales of used cars are booming. According to Deslauriers, the price of a typical used car increased by 31.4 per cent last year, compared with three per cent for new cars. "Last month, our used cars outsold new cars by three-to-one," said Larroche. "That's where the money is now."

The decontenting trend began to emerge three years ago when Honda, Toyota and other Japanese importers found themselves squeezed by the rising value of the Japanese yen against the U.S. dollar. Before, customers rarely balked at paying for the high quality and excess of expensive imported Japanese automobiles built into their vehicles. But as the yen appreciated and U.S. manufacturers responded to Asian competition by building better vehicles, Japanese car executives began to search for ways to further limit price increases. After much soul-searching, Deslauriers says, the Japanese decided to try to maintain the quality of their vehicles while ditching many cosmetic touches, such as sunrises in every street, and using more economical designs of suspension and brakes. "The Japanese will not compromise on quality," said Deslauriers. "So they are ruthlessly cutting out specific things that are not needed for the brand name."

Japan's carmakers have left few areas of their vehicles untouched. Laptops have been removed from some luxury cars, sunroof windows, sunroof-mounted sun functions deleted from certain models of minivans and paint is no longer applied to gas tanks on some models. Toyota now equips its popular Camry with a power window for each of its door trims, while in the United States, Honda has replaced four-wheel disc brakes on its popular Civic with a less costly combination of disc brakes on the front wheels and drum brakes on the rear. The changes are not restricted to lower-priced cars. Nissan has replaced the independent rear suspension on its Maxima, a luxury sedan that sells between \$26,000 and \$38,000, with a simpler beam suspension. In the United States, Toyota has replaced the heated mirrors

from its \$17,000-plus Supra sports car. For quadricamers, the truck is to save money without giving the impression that quality has suffered. "Customers do not just want to buy expensive cars," said Hirohiko Itoh, Honda Motor Co. But its executive chief engineer of automobile operations in North America. "They want to buy good cars that are expensive."

To that end, the Japanese are being forced to weigh manufacturing costs against what consumers actually want. Ben Heibach, vice president of Heibach & Associates, an automotive consulting firm based in Troy, Mich., said that

**Honda Civic**  
**\$13,000 to \$20,600**  
 • Less expensive trunk-hinge design  
 • Mirrors no longer fold inward



three years ago, when Chrysler was preparing to launch several new car and light-truck designs, market researchers at the firm concluded that the Japanese had gone overboard in adding features to their cars. Consumers, for example, did not seem to care if there were map pockets on both front doors. In response, Chrysler added many features, allowing it to under-price similar-sized Japanese models. Says Heibach, "Chrysler threw out the guide

\$12 million a year. Analysts have welcomed Ford's decision to pace back. It's mind-bogglingly impressive going from a luxury car to a van in the Explorer and saving \$13 a copy," said Joseph Piffinger, an analyst with Lehman Brothers Inc. in New York City. "That's the stuff that will have an immediate impact" on profits.

Ford spokesman Chris Vinard says that Ford also wants to increase the use of common parts in many of the models it produces around the world. In one example, its 22-level cushion parts to 50 per cent over the next five years. Ford also plans to reduce its number of vehicle platforms from 24 to 16, cut the number of engine types from 36 to about 14, and transmissions from 32 to 15. "The customer is so sensitive to prices," says Vinard, "that production cost increases must be offset by a reduction in material costs."

The danger, however, is that consumers may shudder a car brand as the number of features decreases. In Japan, a stripped-down version of the Corolla failed to sell well last year, leading some executives to question whether car makers are going too far in their cost-cutting drive. "It is not a good idea to take features out just to reduce the price," said Akio Wada, executive vice-president in charge of research for Toyota Motor Corp. in the United States. "The question is whether the users need them."

The race to cut may eventually be more than cosmetic. Marc Swenson, president of ELM International, a consulting firm in East Lansing, Mich., says that while the Japanese are closely monitoring consumer reaction, they also consider an additional view to incorporate cheaper parts to their cars. For example, they could reduce the lifespan of the seats around car trunks from 25 to 10 years, or



**Mazda Protege**  
**\$14,000 to \$20,600**  
 • Door handles and mirrors no longer painted to match car body  
 • Rear window bar taken off some models  
 • Variable-intensity windshield wipers replaced with fixed-speed intermittent

lines and said, "Let's start fresh and examine each component."

Behind Ford, a new scramble is taking off. Over the past several years, as Ford introduced a number of new product lines it continued to add

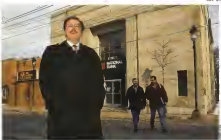
expensive features. But consumers have balked at the higher prices, so Ford has decided to delete a number of features. Examples include a different sun visor in the Ford Contour and Mercury Mystique, the company will save \$125 per vehicle, or

might have something that lasts 10 years instead of 200,000 miles. If they can save money by cutting it last seven years and 200,000 miles, they will do that."

By the year 2,000, Deslauriers says, drivers will notice increasing similarities between models. That could hurt sales. "If every car has the same seat or the same dashboard, then everything needs to be big and bold," said Deslauriers. "There is a lot of resistance to this from a marketing standpoint." For now, the information at Ford are looking for things that will go unnoted by these price-hungry customers in Larroche's showroom. □

# A blow for the banks

Ottawa vetoes a bid for wider insurance powers



Jones presides from the insurance industry played a major part in the decision

Over the past 16 years, Rod Jones has built up a thriving home-based auto insurance brokerage in Trent, N.S., with more than 7,000 clients. But until last week's federal budget, the 43-year-old Nova Scotian was fearful that Ottawa might imperil his livelihood by authorizing the big banks to sell insurance through their branch networks. "The banks would be in a position to strangle any one else in any," he worried. Jones said he has 55,000 contacts in the Insurance Brokers Association of Canada were therefore overjoyed when Finance Minister Paul Martin announced his intention to deny the banks expanded insurance powers. "We're relieved," Jones said. "We know the finance department is not satisfied with this decision, but the politicians felt the banks didn't need any more power."

Martin's announcement was a bitter defeat for the Canadian Bankers Association (CBA), which had waged an expensive lobbying campaign against a coalition of brokers and insurance companies. The bankers had anticipated that Martin would recommend against them in a white paper on financial services due to be released next month—but hoped they might be able to reverse a tentative shift in a public debate preceding a scheduled meeting of the Bankers' Act in 1997. They reacted with consternation when Martin confirmed them with a full-throated veto. "We were sure we might all be on the losing," said Dwight Lacey,

chief executive of CIBC Insurance, an affiliate of Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce. "We're extremely disappointed [Martin] would take this approach." Lacey attributed the government's veto to "the intense lobbying of brokers in the back rooms and the intense campaign they waged against us."

The pressure exerted by the insurance industry played a major part in Ottawa's decision, but it was far from the only factor. At a time when Canada's big banks are seeking to position themselves in the past two weeks, the five largest banks have reported sharply higher first-quarter earnings compared with 1995, and a year of record profits—the government clearly wanted to avoid the perception that it was rewriting the rules to favor the banking industry. Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps has expressed the Liberals' popular posture: "The insurance industry has been sued from the banks," she said in a television interview. "The potential for a monopoly has been cut off at the pass."

In a further blow to the banks, the budget extended until Oct. 30, 1997, the 13-per-cent surcharge on capital of large financial institutions first introduced by Martin last year.

the levy will cost the banks \$65 million in the 1996-1997 fiscal year, reckons Andy Krupar, CIBC's senior vice-president for taxation. Shattering the measure in discussion, he complained that Ottawa is "chopping away at our capital at the same time it is trying to get the banks to add to their capital base."

The banks had presented the insurance issue as one of choice and convenience for consumers. But in the CBA's disappointment, it failed to elicit the support of the Consumers Association of Canada, which voiced "serious reservations" about in-branch sales of insurance. Nor were the banks able to overcome the argument that giving them additional insurance powers would destroy thousands of insurance jobs and promote further concentration of financial clout. Copps, in fact, suggested that the decision was actually an important element in the Liberals' jobs strategy, since it would shield insurance agents and brokers from increased competition.

The banks, however, rejected the idea that insurers needed continued protection. Jim Westlake, president of RBC Insurance, a subsidiary of Royal Bank of Canada, said that some of the largest insurers underwriters are subsidiaries of companies larger than any of the Canadian banks in terms of assets, including Prudential Insurance of America and Metropolitan Insurance Co. "They are listed in countries where the banks are allowed to sell insurance—and they all compete in their home markets on that basis," Westlake said.

All the same, the fact that Canada's banks are already enjoying good times added an important political dimension to the insurance decision. "The banks have performed well for the consumer," noted John McCullum, senior vice-president and chief economist of the Royal Bank. "But the perception is that the banks get huge profits and are fat cats," he added. That, compared with their U.S. counterparts, Canadian banks "charge lower fees, charge lower interest, make lower profits and pay higher taxes. We have to make that case to the public more persuasively."

Meanwhile, the industry is not exactly crying poor. It may even receive a consolation prize next month's white paper is expected to recommend that they be allowed to compete in the \$8-billion auto leasing business. Already, Canada's car dealers are warning that 10% that the move would mean the loss of business—and jobs.

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## Personal Business

### Rethinking the PC

When Larry Ellison dumps all over the personal computer for being too expensive, you somehow doubt he is referring to the strain on his own finances. Ellison, after all, is the billionaire boss of U.S. software giant Oracle Corp.—not exactly the sort of person who frets over a night's lodging about the cost of a \$3,000 Pentium desktop. Yet for months now, Ellison has been telling anyone who will listen that the typical new PC is not only far too costly, but too complicated for the average consumer. He has even gone so far as to say that the desktop computer as it now exists, stuffed full of technological bells and whistles, "is dead."

These are strong words, but Ellison is no mere carping maverick. Instead, he is the leading proponent of an alternative concept: a low-cost network computer that, with a few built-in programs, could send and receive e-mail, browse the World Wide Web and perform standard tasks such as word processing. Last year, when Ellison began trumpeting his idea, he insisted that such a machine could be built for about \$800. Critics laughed, but a few weeks ago the Oracle CEO unveiled a working prototype built from parts costing less than \$300. Suddenly, people are taking his seriously.

Ellison's network computer—others call it a Web PC, an internet appliance or a browser box—is in a sense a throwback to the old days of computing: it is a traditional mainframe system, dozens of "racks" of circuitry were hooked up to a big central computer that stored the data and ran the software. Mainframe systems declined in popularity with the arrival 15 years ago of the first desktop PCs, equipped with their own diskdrives and processing chips.

Since then, PCs have become increasingly sophisticated, boasting faster processors and larger and larger hard-drives crammed with bloated applications. For consumers, it is a vicious circle: each new hardware improvement makes possible a flood of complex new software that requires more memory, more storage capacity and more processing power. After three or four years,

the demands become so great that the user often has no choice but to junk the machine and buy a replacement.

Ellison, to put it mildly, is an fan of that approach. For 15 years, he says, the computer industry has been emulating an existing technology, all the while making it bigger and more complicated. "It's time to start over," he insists, by stripping away the hardware and taking advantage of the vast amount of software and data available on the Internet. Not coincidentally, that would also create more demand for the database software that is Oracle's stock in trade.

Will low-cost Web computers catch on?

The jury is still out, because the first consumer versions—small boxes that could be connected to a standard computer monitor or a television set—are not likely to reach store shelves until later this year or early in 1999. (Although Oracle says it has no plans to manufacture network computers, it is licensing the technology to other companies.) Ellison and a number of other high-powered computer executives, including IBM chairman Lou Gerstner, agree that the time is now ripe for a specialized appliance that makes the Internet accessible to a wider, less technically adept audience.

A network computer would obviously not suit everyone, but it might appeal to schools, people who only want to surf the Web and send e-mail, and those on lower incomes. Still, skeptics abound. Microsoft CEO Bill Gates, who could lose billions if network-based computing erodes demand for his company's desktop operating system and software, has been scathing in his criticism. Like the Detroit auto executives 25 years ago who scoffed at the idea that North Americans would ever trade in their gas-guzzlers for Japanese compact, Gates

refuses to believe that consumers will choose cheaper, less powerful computers over full-featured desktops. Detroit, it goes without saying, was dead wrong about the car market, and before long small imports were crowding the highways. Ellison is betting that history is about repeat itself on the information highway.

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## NEW STOCK COMMISSION?

Ontario may soon establish a national securities commission to discourage Canadian firms from listing on U.S. exchanges. Companies wishing to go public in Canada now must file documents in each province, which has led some to issue shares on American exchanges. Although Quebec and British Columbia have opposed a federal system, the idea is receiving support from the Ontario Securities Commission, which says its budget is too small to police companies trading on the Toronto Stock Exchange.

## MOLSON SLASHES JOBS

Hoping to boost profits, money-losing Molson Breweries has cut 250 jobs in Montreal and will save 155 staff at its Toronto head office. Molson president John Bennett said the company will also launch a massive advertising campaign. "I want to get the company back on a growth track and feeling good about itself," said Bennett.

## CEOs GETTING RICHER

Bell lightning has yet to reach the top offices of corporate America, a new survey shows. The New York City-based consulting firm Pearl Meyer and Partners queried 35 companies with average revenues of \$25 billion. It found that the average compensation for chief executives jumped 23 per cent in 1995 to \$5.9 million.

## SOARING IN OPEN SKIES

Canadian Airlines International has emerged as the big winner in the first year of the Canada-U.S. open skies agreement. A U.S. federal report said passenger traffic between the two countries rose 15 per cent in 1995. During that period, Canada posted an 84 per cent increase in cross-border traffic, while the U.S. recorded a 34 per cent gain. Most U.S. airlines reported little or no increase.

## BATTLE FOR THE GARDENS

An ownership dispute over Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens is heading to court after the collapse of negotiations with the Ontario government. Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens is heading to court after the collapse of negotiations with the Ontario government. Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens is heading to court after the collapse of negotiations with the Ontario government.



New York Stock Exchange traders during the Dow's first fall closing on Black Monday

## Signs of growth trigger a sell-off

After morning to record heights over the last 12 months, Canadian and U.S. stock markets took a pounding on Friday amid signs that interest rates have been raised and are poised to rise. The Dow Jones Industrial Average fell 171 points, or three per cent, while the Toronto Stock Exchange plummeted 15 points, chilling investors and raising fears of an even sharper sell-off this week. For some investors, the market's sudden turn stirred memories of Oct. 22, 1987—Black Monday—the day the Dow lost 508 points. "After 1987, you do not know when that day will arrive again," said Daniel Lutra, an independent broker in New York. "Us older guys have lived in our souls."

Others, however, said the market had corrected and would begin to recover this week. As is often the case, the immediate cause of the market's downturn was the release of data that most people would describe as favorable. The U.S. labor department reported that an

employment in February fell to 5.5 per cent with the creation of 705,000 new jobs—more than double what analysts had been expecting. The job outlook is also looking brighter north of the border although the February rate was unchanged at 9.6 per cent. Statistics Canada reported that 44,000 new jobs were created during the month and 137,000 since December—more than in the previous 12 months each year.

What panicked investors was the fear that stronger economic growth will fuel inflation and prompt U.S. and Canadian central banks to raise interest rates. That, in turn, would further curtail corporate investment and consumer spending. Even before the market fell, Toronto-based Canada Trust announced an increase in mortgage rates, including those on a two-year mortgage from 6.75 per cent to seven per cent. "What an ugly day," said Craig, the trust company's chief economist, said at week's end. "We've seen the bottom in rates."

Swiss giants merged drug companies with an anticipated 6.1 per cent share of the market for prescription and over-the-counter drugs. Glaxo, Sanofi and Ciba-Geigy plan to lay off 10,000 of their 102,600 workers. But Alan Parni, Glaxo's a Sanofi spokesman, said it is too early to tell whether the integration will result in job losses in Canada, where the two companies employ a total of 2,500 people. Some 550 of those work at Sanofi Canada's head office in Dorval, Que., and its plant in Whitchurch, Ont., which produces the Glaxo and Triaminic lines of cold medicines.

## Swiss giants merge

Swiss drug makers Ciba-Geigy AG and Sanofi AG are joining forces in one of the biggest corporate mergers ever worth \$19 billion. The new company, to be called Novartis, will boast annual sales of about \$30 billion from such products as Glaxo, Glaxo's pills and Triaminic. Analysts say the merger is part of a consolidation trend in the drug industry, fuelled in part by government cuts to health spending in Europe and North America. The merger of the two companies' Canadian operations will create the



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# Peter C. Newman

## Memo to Paul Martin: It's jobs, jobs, jobs!

**T**rying to make sense of Canada's economic trends these days is a little like being a navigator in a sandstorm: you don't know where to start.

Finance Minister Paul Martin, who has held down the cabinet's most difficult job with distinction since the Liberals marched back into power 25 years ago, feels that by necessity he must concentrate on reducing the debt which Messrs. Trudeau and Mulroney had pumped up to \$508.2 billion for strictly political reasons during their quarter century in office.

With an third budget tabled last week, Martin is, as the experts definitely forecast, "tying Canada's fiscal house in order" by reducing the federal deficit by another \$8 billion.

But he's not really.

How can a house feel comfortable when more than one per cent of its inhabitants can't find jobs?

With only a couple of token job-creation measures, Martin is condemning the country's unemployed to the not very tender mercies of the private sector. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's heart belongs to Bay Street. This was where (on retirement to Gordon Capital Corp.) he spent much of his time and energy during the five years he spent in political exile before returning in June, 1990, to win the Liberal leadership. The Prime Minister makes occasional noises about the private sector not living up to its social obligations, and nothing is done to create any meaningful programs that would force business to make about 100 new jobs for every opportunity lost of merely greater profits.

Despite the emphasis on cost-cutting, Martin's best efforts have condemned Canada to having to pay out \$48 billion—nearly \$1 billion a week—in public debt charges during the next 12 months. The national debt is still rising at \$100 million a day, and our total debt-to-gross domestic product ratio at 107 per cent is the second highest in the industrial world.

Martin's determination to wrangle the deficit to the ground has turned cost-cutting into an obsession. This is not only a cruel way to govern, it's bad politics. Fighting the deficit ought to be a means to an end, not the objective itself. In his budget speech, Martin seemed to be aware of this dilemma by stressing that "restoring financial health paves the way for a more dynamic, job-creating economy."

Unfortunately, that's one of those self-defeating, counterproductive notions that may once have been true, but that recent experience has rendered meaningless. New jobs don't any longer follow close-shed government accounts.

The trap: but it is that the prospects for job creation—which is what gives any government its raison d'être—have atrophied before. Except for a few specialized areas, new full-time jobs have all but evaporated. No harm over in sight. The personal savings rate—once the pride of thrifty Canadians—at 6.5 per cent is at an

all-time low. Nor are consumers expressing confidence in the economy or their own future by spending their money. Consumer purchases, which account for nearly two-thirds of the economy's \$700 billion in annual economic output, are stagnant. Investors and consumers have not encouraged any significant renewal in capital spending or retail sales. Canada lingers on the cusp of a new recession.

Experts, which constitute the economy's most dynamic sector, have grown from 30 per cent of the country's gross domestic product to 38 per cent since 1980. But even in this booming category, jobs have been lost at an alarming rate (95,000 in manufacturing alone). The irony is that while Canadian corporations reap record profits, they are announcing record layoffs. (The saddest headline of the year was in the *Montreal Gazette*: "Air Canada to cut 300 jobs—mostly as maintenance.")

What Martin seems to have only dimly realized is that the basic notion of jobs is obsolete. "That much sought after, much maligned social entity, a job, is a species that has outlived its evolutionary time," William Wrigley, an American analyst wrote in *Forbes* magazine recently. "The modern world is on the verge of another leap into creativity and productivity, but the job is not going to be part of tomorrow's economic reality."

Such gloomy prognostications don't mean that there won't be work available in the future, but the idea of leaving high school or university and finding a 40-hour lifetime job that ends at age 65 when the boss springs for a gold watch is no obsolete as Herbert Marcuse's banister. That shouldn't be as frightening as it sounds. Jobs are a relatively modern invention, dating back to Henry Ford's 1913 Model-T assembly line. Before that, most work was done either at home as a pay-per-piece basis, or organized around individual projects in which people lent their skills. That held true for harvesting crops or building cathedrals. Each task required combination of skills whose possessors moved in and out of each work opportunity.

Last week's budget took no account of the fact that we live in a brand new world. Most large Canadian companies, especially those rare entities still able to compete in the global marketplace, are in a race to "outsource" and "unbundle." That means work is being turned out to individual contractors, consultants or sole traders whose fringe benefits don't elicit corporate payrolls. More than four million Canadians are already working at home and the trend is growing. There is work to be had, but getting a job has become an impossible dream.

In his quest to kick start the economy and revive government revenues—which ultimately is the only meaningful way to tackle our debt—Paul Martin isn't really asking us to change anything. There's no point having your "fiscal house in order" if there's hardly anybody left who can afford the rent.

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## SCIENCE

# Send in the clones

Scientists find a new  
way to make sheep

For more than a decade, scientists have been using genetic technology to produce biologically identical copies, or clones, of animals. In theory, cloning can be used to improve sheep and cattle breeds by ensuring that the animals' most desirable genetic characteristics are passed on. But in practice, cloning has often proved disappointing: scientists have been limited in the number of clones they could produce, and the young animals frequently have a low survival rate. Now, scientists at the Roslin Institute near Edinburgh have demonstrated a dramatically different kind of cloning technology. Starting with cells from a sheep embryo, they grew these masses of copies in a culture. Technicians then fused the cells to unfertilized eggs and implanted the eggs in female sheep. In the end, only a handful of cloned Welsh Mountain lambs were born. But members of the Roslin team said that when the new technique is perfected, it should be possible to create thousands of identical sheep and cattle at a time. "This is very exciting," said Prof. Alina Ruvinsky, an embryologist and geneticist at Ontario's University of Guelph. "It has big applications for livestock breeding and production."

The experiment, described in the March 7 issue of the British scientific journal *Nature*, suggested that the new technology could be used someday to create cattle with larger meat and cows that produce longer milk. Keith Campbell, the cell biologist in charge of the experiment, and that kind of genetic fine-tuning could become possible because, unlike existing methods, the new cloning system would enable scientists "to make much more precise genetic changes in the cells used to produce cloned animals."

The Roslin scientists scored an unexpected triumph when they achieved a type of cloning that had defeated past attempts by American and European scientists. The method differs from existing cloning technology in several important ways. In conventional sheep cloning, technicians usually remove embryos, consisting of between 50 and 60 cells, from artificially inseminated ewes, divide the cells into two clusters and re-plant them into recipient ewes.

The Roslin team started with slightly over mature embryonic cells, which were then grown in a culture where they multiplied rapidly—providing a far higher number of potential clones than usual. According to



Safe survivors: a future of genetic fine-tuning?

Campbell, the cells' high rate of growth may have been induced when scientists withdrew some of the nutrients in the culture. "This put the cells into a quiescent state," said Campbell, "which may have made them more suitable for controlling development into a fetus."

The use of a culture for growing cells should also make finer genetic tuning pos-

sible. In the past, scientists have tried to inject new genes into an embryo before cloning—an approach, said Roslin team member Ian Wilmut, that "is very primitive. This thing is a challenge." Using a culture, added Campbell, "we should be able to make much more precise genetic changes, and then use only the altered cells to produce new animals."

Incidentally, advances in animal cloning raise the prospect of scientists applying the same tech-  
niques to humans. Doctors at George Washington Medical Center in Washington, did just that in 1993 when they produced 48 short-lived clones of human embryos. The controversial experiment, which was made public at a scientific conference held in Montreal, triggered a fierce controversy. Since then, some unauthorized nations, including Canada, have received guidelines against the serious use of among cloned animals remains low. Of the five British lambs born in Scotland last July, only two survived infancy and were still living last week as their story was told to the world.

MARK NICHOLS

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# Taking on the world

## Championships are a hot ticket in Edmonton

The sport of figure skating is flying higher than a quadruple toe-loop drawing devoted audiences—watching live or on TV—of a growing number of special events and competitions. And Edmonton is pretty much as figure-skating as cities get. It has

produced a series of national and world-class skaters, top-flight coaching staff, at one point was home to two world champions, Alberta's own Kurt Browning and American Kristi Yamaguchi—both of whom trained at Edmonton's renowned Royal Glenora Club. When this city hosted the 1994 Canadian figure skating championships, it filled the 10,000-seat Coliseum. Next week, Edmonton plays host to an even bigger event when the World Figure Skating Championships come to town. Official TV estimates that some 177 million TV viewers will tune in worldwide—which would make figure skating's premiere event the third-most watched sporting spectacle of all time, behind the 1994 Winter Olympics and soccer's World Cup the same year.

Canada has a special stake in the worlds, housing a Canadian as defending men's champion. Elvis Stojko of Richmond B.C., Oct., will be going for his third straight title five years at the Edmonton Coliseum, a capacity crowd will watch from the stands—but only those who were left off the mark. It took a record 72 hours after tickets went on sale a year ago for the championships to vicinity sell out—all but about 2,000 seats in the highest rows were gone. (A few hundred of those tickets were still available late last week for some championship events—and there were plenty more for the qualifiers.) The worlds are expected to draw about 12,000 out-of-town spectators, in addition to 200 skaters from 43 countries plus coaches, judges and officials. Already last week, about 30 at Edmonton's hotels were completely sold out—with 300 rooms booked for March 21, the night of the pairs' final.

Stojko's next goal, what everyone is likely to be Russian Alen Urmanov, who led Stojko's dramatic jumping ability last is an elite skater. Urmanov took gold at the 1994

Olympics and again at the Champion Series Final in Paris last month. But Stojko won the last two worlds—and the one last year in Birmingham, England (which drew only 6,800 fans to the men's final), came just two months after a painful ankle injury. Canada's other serious medal contenders in Edmon-



Stojko: 277 million TV viewers will be watching

ton will be the dance team of Shae-Lynn Bourne of Chatham, Ont., and Victor Skarup of Vancouver, who finished fourth in Birmingham last year. Canada will also have two pairs teams at the worlds—Michelle Menzies of Cambridge, Ont., with Jean-Michel Bombardier of Laval, Que., and Kristi Sargeant of Miss. Alta., with Kristi Wynn of Burnham, Ont. Chantal LeBel of L'Assom, Que., and Michel Brunet of Gatineau will also compete in ice dancing. Joining Stojko

in the men's event are Sebastian Britten of Brunswick, Que., and Marcus Christensen of Toronto, while Jennifer Robinson of Windsor, Ont., will skate in the women's event. That competition features a wide field of contenders, including 19-year-old reigning world champion Liu Chao of China and 21-year-old Michelle Kwan of the United States.

Rome is the sister when Catherine Patino of Edmonton most wants to see. "It's interesting to see how young she is and all she can do," says Patino, 24, the previous Alberta stanza champion and second-place finisher at the western divisionals this year. Patino trains 1½ hours a day at Royal Glenora with Michael Frank, who used to coach Browning. She is one of 12 young skaters chosen to collect the Glenora traditionally thrown on the ice at the Worlds. "It's not really hard doing it," she says, "just doing it at the time given—only a couple of minutes to get all the flowers off." Her mother, Don Patino, says that the worlds are "very good for the city." But, she says, they are also a great opportunity for young skaters. "To be able to see the events, to be involved, and be part of the whole atmosphere of the competition."

Of course, the Royal Glenora Club itself offers some of that atmosphere—12 skaters living over the rink where Patino and her fellow skaters were practicing last week. They bear the names of the city's champions, including Browning and Yamaguchi, but also former Canadian champs Lori Sargeant and Michael Ryzchuk. Susan Humphreys, 20, has skated at the Glenora since 1981. And she caught up at the 1994 Olympics and world championships behind—finishing sixth at the latter—before suffering a debilitating back injury. Humphreys took break at the nationals this year, but her goal is to work her way into medal contention at the 1998 Olympics and worlds, she says.

That means intense training. But then Humphreys has plenty of inspiration to draw on in Edmonton. She trained with her agent for two years and was impressed with the American champion's "ability to concentrate every day and to just be an technically sound." Adds Humphreys: "When you're in a place where you're constantly looking up to people, it's just giving you that motivation every day. They're real models." These same people helped make Edmontonians into skating aficionados—and saw they will have their chance to cheer on the world's best.

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# Backpack

HEALTHWATCH

## THE FUROR OVER FILLINGS

BY SHARON DOYLE DRIEDGER

A little loved, just in the manner of 1994, Nicholas Royko thought he was going crazy. "I was shaking so much, I couldn't hold a cup of coffee," recalls the Calgary design engineer. "My vision was blurred and I couldn't concentrate. It came to the point where I couldn't work, I couldn't drive, I couldn't follow a conversation." For five years, Royko, 55, suffered from memory loss, slowed speech, a sensation of electricity in his mouth and a host of other inexplicable health problems. He consulted 12 medical specialists—including a neurologist, two ophthalmologists and even a psychiatrist—but none could establish a diagnosis. "Finally last year, one physician saw how many fillings I had," says Royko. "He said, 'That could be the problem—heavy metal poisoning.'" When a urine test indicated elevated levels of mercury in his body, Royko says, he had his 35 mercury amalgam fillings replaced with a silver composite resin. "After the mercury fillings were gone, I got more for a few weeks but now I feel much better," says Royko, who paid \$11,000 for his dental work and then under went drug therapy to help eliminate the heavy metal from his system. "My strange belief is that I was poisoned by the mercury in my fillings."

Until he became ill, Royko never suspected that the metal implanted in his mouth could be harmful. But according to a recent Health Canada report, as many as 15 per cent of people with amalgam fillings—often called silver fillings—show signs of sensitivity to mercury. "There are literally thousands of us all over the world

### The battle lines are drawn over mercury

as the dentists' rising health concerns

who suffer from mercury toxicity," says Elke Buback, a self-described "mercury addict" and co-founder of the Alberta branch of the Health Action Network Society, one of at least three consumer and environmental organizations lobbying for restrictions, for an individual ban, on dental use of the heavy metal. But the Canadian Dental Association, dental manufacturers and some scientists insist that the fears and claims of so-called anti-amalgamists are totally unfounded. "I am sympathetic to these individuals," says Dennis Jones, a professor of biomaterials in the faculties of medicine and dentistry at Dalhousie University in Halifax. "But there is no scientific evidence to link their symptoms with mercury fillings, except in a very, very small proportion of the population who are sensitive to mercury."

Like a persistent nuisance, controversy has repeatedly flared up around mercury amalgam since it was first introduced nearly two centuries ago. In 1812, a British chemist blended mercury—a silvery-white, poisonous metal—with fillings from silver coins to form a heavy paste for restoring decayed teeth. In the mid-19th century, dentists argued over the possible effects of exposure to mercury, then known to cause dementia and loss of motor coordination. But the silver filling proved to be effective, unexpens-

ive and likable. And since patients suffered no obvious side effects, the dental profession long believed that the implanted mercury was useful in the filling. Now, dentists around the world use mercury amalgams—which typically contain 50 per cent mercury, 30 per cent silver, 15 per cent tin, two per cent copper and a trace of zinc—for most of the fillings they place in patients' mouths.

But in recent years, the anti-amalgam movement has been gaining momentum. In 1978, researchers at the University of Iowa—using sophisticated new measurement techniques—demonstrated that mercury vapor is released in the mouths of people with silver fillings. Further studies showed that levels of mercury in blood and urine increased with the number of fillings. Then, in the early 1980s, two researchers in the University of Calgary's medical faculty, Dr. Murray Vining and Fritz Lorscheider, placed mercury fillings in the mouths of sheep and tracked the metal's progress through the animals' systems. "We showed that mercury migrated from the teeth into nearly all of the tissue, especially the brain, kidney and liver," says Vining, who is also a practicing dentist. "We also showed it crossed the placenta into the fetus."

The controversial study, later replicated in monkeys, launched another round in the so-called amalgam wars—and this time, consumer organizations and environmentalists have joined the debate. Sweden, Germany and Austria have responded to public concern over mercury amalgam by proposing to phase out use of the

metal and DelBosque's Jones emphasizes that such minute amounts do not make people sick. "We cannot guarantee absolute biological safety," says Jones. "But there is no evidence to suggest that there is any danger in terms of adverse health effects."

Broadbent and other experts say that the mercury amalgam fillings are passing on to the next generation. "How many silver fillings have been placed in infants?" Broadbent asks. "Infants—and we don't have a bank of people showing ill health." Besides, he adds, it's dangerous to mercury amalgam was as dangerous as the critics believe, problems would have surfaced in dentists themselves, who are exposed to far greater amounts of the metal than their patients. While the CDA maintains that there is no proof that mercury fillings cause mercury poisoning—a well-documented systemic disease that varies in severity from mild tremors and memory loss to severe brain damage and kidney disorders—the association acknowledges that a very small proportion, fewer than three per cent of the population (about one million Canadians), may be allergic to mercury amalgam. "There will be some who are truly allergic or extremely sensitive to the metal," admits Broadbent. "But they are rare." And the reactions, he says, are not severe, usually producing a mild rash reaction, like a skin redness on the gum next to the tooth.

But some Canadian dentists and scientists, as well as lobbyists like Buback, believe that research to date—while not conclusive—has raised reasonable doubts about the safety of mercury fillings. "The people who want to maintain the status quo conclude that there is no evidence to demonstrate that mercury is toxic," says Martin Richardson, a former biologist at Health Canada who reviewed the scientific literature and prepared a risk assessment for the federal department last year. "That is not surprising," adds Richardson, who is now a private risk manager. "Not that many years ago, the tobacco industry claimed that studies linking smoking and cancer were unscientific." In his report—still under consideration by Health Canada—Richardson suggested limiting the number of mercury amalgam fillings.

Some anti-amalgamists, though, want an outright ban.

"When I first measured mercury coming off a filling in a human mouth, that was the day I drew all that stuff out of my office," Vining says. "Every time you eat or chew, every time you brush or grind your teeth, you absorb it." But he advises people with silver fillings not to panic. "As fillings rust, they release mercury, but they should realize that they get nonmercurial materials," he reports also warn that there is risk to the patient in the removal of amalgam fillings. "It is not done properly," says Broadbent. "You're exposing the patient to a higher exposure to mercury than if they had left everything alone."

There are alternatives to mercury amalgam: the controversy could end if dentists switched to porcelain, gold or white composite resin fillings. But, argues Broadbent, silver fillings are more durable and they are easier to fix. He adds that composite alternatives, he says, require more skill and time—and result in a bigger bill for the patient. "I'm acting on behalf of the future of dentistry, I would say, 'Dentists, amalgam,'" Broadbent says. "We would make more money because every filling we're putting in now would have to be replaced in 20 years. But it would be unethical to pull that on the public unless there were scientific reasons." Science may not provide answers for decades. And in the absence of incontrovertible evidence, the mercury amalgam wars will continue to rage. □

### New word of mouth about rinsing

"You can rinse now." A generation ago, that is what dentists told patients when too much saliva collected in their mouths after drilling or sanding of their modern dental office, a patient who believes a candy-cane shaped "fluid ejector" hangs over the lips, sucking the fluid into a hose and down a drain. It is convenient and—because the dentist replaces the tip after every patient—also hygienic. It is not in 1992, Susan Shields, a dental hygienist studied at the University of Alberta, noticed that fluid from a saliva ejector was flowing back into a patient's mouth. "We were horrified," says her then-instructor, now-called Patrick Whitehouse. "If the hose is not disconnected between patients, the fluid could contain material from the previous person's mouth." This "back-back," Whitehouse explained, could transmit influenza as well as more serious diseases such as hepatitis B. But he also offers three ways for dentists to eliminate the problem: tell patients not to drink before, during and after the visit; use a patient who believes a candy-cane shaped "fluid ejector" hangs over the lips, sucking the fluid into a hose and down a drain. It is convenient and—because the dentist replaces the tip after every patient—also hygienic. It is not in 1992, Susan Shields, a dental hygienist studied at the University of Alberta, noticed that fluid from a saliva ejector was flowing back into a patient's mouth. "We were horrified," says her then-instructor, now-called Patrick Whitehouse. "If the hose is not disconnected between patients, the fluid could contain

substance. And in Canada, where federal officials are preparing to release Ottawa's position on mercury amalgam early this spring, the battle lines are already drawn.

On one side are the Canadian Dental Association and scientists who continue to support the use of mercury amalgam fillings. "Mercury is toxic by itself as an element," acknowledges Dr. Jim Broadbent, CDA president of the Ottawa-based Canadian Dental Association. "Aspirin is a poison, salt is a poison, mercury is a poison—a poison is determined by its dose." While he does not discount findings that mercury escapes from fillings and enters the body, he argues, Broadbent says, it is measured in the billions of a kilogram—the only reason we are finding out is that we were not able to measure such small amounts before." And

## A BOOM IN THE PAGING INDUSTRY

Increasing versatility means growing sales



On a recent Friday night, Randy Williams glanced at the clock and wondered why his teenage daughter Amanda had not come home yet. Easier that evening, the Toronto high-school student had gone off to be with friends. Williams understood that teenagers will be teenagers, but with the clock showing 1:05 a.m., the minutes past her curfew, he started to worry. Instead of worrying and waiting, by 1:30 a.m. Amanda arrived, however, he did something that a growing number of Canadian parents are doing: he paged his daughter. Amanda promptly responded with a call of her own to say that she was safe and on her way. "She was waiting for the answer to come to her house," says the 35-year-old Williams. "It was good to know where she was."

Creating a sense of security among parents is only one reason why pager sales in Canada are booming. With users quadrupling in the past few years to close to 1 million, pagers is obviously a factor (pagers cost significantly less than cellular phones). Another is that teens, despite being teased by parents, like having pagers as a link to their friends. "For the kids, it's something to be cool," says Lisa Gulliver, a manager at DownEast Mobility in Halifax. "It's convenient," Amanda Williams says. "I'm always out and about." There are also the parents who like to know their baby-sitter can reach

them in an emergency. "It's quiet," Gulliver says. "It's not going to make a sound if they're in a movie, restaurant or wherever."

Another sign of the paging industry's good health is the arrival of two U.S.-based companies, PageMart and PageNet, which have established Canadian counterparts prepared to enter the market. Both, under the name of Bell Mobility, are taking over Bell's pager business in Canada. Bell Mobility, Cingular and Shaw Mobile. Cingular, a major provider of paging services, is expected to help drive prices down in the wireless market. "It's the Wal-Mart of pagers," says Kate McCowan, a financial analyst for Baring Wetherby. Still, there seems to be room for all the players. "I hope they come into the market," says Keri Gulliver, president and CEO of Bell Mobility Paging Inc. "That way people get a better appreciation for what pagers can do for their lives so there's a bigger pie, and therefore I can take a bigger slice."

There certainly appears to be room for growth in spite of the industry's impressive gains. In Canada pagers are used by only 3.5 per cent of the potential market. Industry analysts expect that to double in the next five years. That optimism may not be unfounded—market penetration in the

United States, for example, is currently about 14 per cent and, in Hong Kong, about 20. And while the market currently has long-term professionals—doctors, lawyers, business people—growing company executives are now aggressively targeting parents with teenagers, adults with aging parents, not to mention glibly teens keen on looking up with friends. "It's the 24-hour version of paging sales," Rob Graham, vice-president of sales and marketing for PageMart Canada Ltd., says of the teen market. "They're paging each other with these little numeric codes that mean different things: 1-33, I like you."

Another driving force is rapidly developing technology, which makes pagers more versatile. Today's market features simple numeric pagers that display a caller's phone number or notify the user of a voice message. There are sophisticated alphanumeric pagers that perform the same basic functions—but can also display a written message. Not surprisingly, with the rapidly growing popularity of the Internet, PageMart plans to introduce what it bills as the first pager link to the Net: a computer user can page someone by e-mail. Similar technology is available for office voice-and-e-mail. And in July, Bell Mobility expects to begin trials for two-way pagers. "You could actually send a message to a sending machine and say, 'How many checks Cohen has left,'" Gulliver says. "And it could respond back saying, 'There's only one. Could you dispatch somebody to come out and fill me up again?'" Cingular, meanwhile, is developing a pager that is programmed to monitor the destination of particular stocks. "Whenever something happens on that stock within the investment parameters that you've set, then I will page you," says Joanne Fiske, Cingular's vice-president of marketing for the company's digital division.

Not bad for a connection pegged to go the way of the dinosaur when cellular phones were introduced in the mid-1980s. Sure, discretion, longer battery life and the ability to screen calls have all helped pagers' continued success. Price is a selling point, too. The average monthly cellular-phone bill at Bell Mobility is \$40. For pagers it is \$20. Today, a simple numeric pager sells for about \$80, with monthly fees running at about \$13.95, or even less. And with prices dropping, industry officials are counting on more parents using pagers to answer the ever-growing question: If it's midnight, do you know where your children are?

DIAN BAWALESKI

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# Backpack ADVENTURE

## TECHNOLOGY HITS THE TRAILS

A new wave of gadgets offers personal safety

After spending the day dog sledding on the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains in January, 1993, Richard and Diane Smith and their two children, Alex and Skye, had almost reached their base camp when Diane, 36, suddenly felt ill. Richard checked her pulse and found a racing 110. By the time they made it back to camp, he recalls, he thought that his wife, who had had no previous health problems, was "going into cardiac arrest." Fearing that Diane would die if she did not get help soon, Richard switched on his pocket-sized personal locator beacon, which sent a distress signal to a satellite orbiting in space. An hour and 30 minutes later, help was on the way—and by the next day Diane was recuperating in hospital.

Satellite distress beacons are part of a new wave of high-tech outdoor equipment that, in essence, is an important upgrade to long-obsolete wilderness survival gear for all people who venture into isolated wilderness areas. For manufacturers and retailers, the selling point of the devices is personal safety—eliminating some of the risk associated with rocky getting away from it all. But peace of mind in the wild does not come cheap. The Smith family paid about \$1,200 for their personal locator beacon, which is only manufactured by MFR Tektek Ltd. of Burnaby, B.C. But for Diane Smith, it was money well spent. "We've never regretted the price," she said in an interview from her home in Rocky Mountain House, Alta.

It took less than 30 minutes for an orbiting satellite to pick up the family's distress signal. The satellite then pinpointed the family's location and transmitted the information to the Canadian Mountain Control Centre in Toronto, Ont. Every beacon is centrally registered—there are more than 600 in Canada—enabling Canadian Forces staff to determine exactly who had sent the signal. An officer then called the RCMP in Alberta, who in turn contacted Don Livingston of the Alberta Forest Service and gave him the Smiths' location. Livingston snowshoed through the rough terrain to the site and from there helped transport Diane out of the bush by sled to a waiting ambulance, which took her to a hospital in Rocky Mountain House. There, doctors found that her blood pressure had fallen to a dangerously low level. Although they could not establish a concrete diagnosis, Diane made a complete recovery.



Security with a personal locator beacon: eliminating some of the risk

There is little doubt that, given the opportunity, most backcountry rescue teams in Canada would track a personal locator beacon on the back of every permit requiring users that are slightly smaller than a business card, the rescuers often a user to determine his position anywhere on earth, at any time of day and in any weather, via satellite. Although they have been on the

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# Rockport



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market for about 10 years, they have become wildly popular among outdoor enthusiasts since their price dropped to below \$1,400 in the early 1990s. Over the past two years, worldwide sales have more than doubled to \$1.7 billion, in fact, a global positioning system receiver can now sell for as little as \$275. But, warns Joe Totic, a U.S.-based product representative for Motorola Inc., "you get what you pay for."

market for about 10 years, they have become wildly popular among outdoor enthusiasts since their price dropped to below \$1,400 in the early 1990s. Over the past two years, worldwide sales have more than doubled to \$1.7 billion, in fact, a global positioning system receiver can now sell for as little as \$275. But, warns Joe Totic, a U.S.-based product representative for Motorola Inc., "you get what you pay for."

Global positioning system users are directed by a constellation of 24 radio navigation satellites. They can be used for pinpointing position, as well as assisting in

the wilderness. Before starting out, hikers, for example, can program their starting position, as well as dozens of turns or rest points—rather like dropping electronic stones along the way. If they get lost, the receiver's on-screen directions help them find their way back to camp. And unlike a compass, positioning receivers can be used when visibility is poor, such as during a snowstorm or at night. But Kiang Leung, a sales representative at Toronto's Mountain Equipment Co-op, a sporting goods store, warns people not to depend entirely on such technology to find their safety in the wild.

"It's an extension, not a replacement for a map and compass," Lending says. And, he adds, technology is a poor substitute for basic survival skills.

For rescue teams, though, the appeal of these gadgets in the hands of consumers is simple. It makes their job no much easier as a line of increasing concern over the cost of mounting search missions. In British Columbia, for example, the cost of search and rescue missions have increased 15 per cent per year over the past five years. Last year alone the province's Provincial Emergency Program, which oversees rescues, conducted 684 operations—in a cost of \$233,000. This was one cost alone. It does not include the cost of the equipment, the time and the overtime or police time," says acting director Geoff Aylor. But if a person in distress has a personal locator beacon, search and rescue teams can pinpoint the location, eliminating time and money spent on personnel and helicopters. And if people can find their way out of trouble, that's a savings it costs the taxpayer, too.

In some instances, officials responsible for searching for lost wilderness critters are asking mallards into their own hands. Last summer, park wardens at Grosvenor National Park in Newfoundland found a group of hikers in a remote part of the park. Shortly after the incident, warden chief park warden Paul Gahdeley issued a co-warden request for tagging caribou with electronic tracking collars for research. "I kind of joked that it would be nice to collar some people," Gahdeley says, "and that's what happened." For the next summer, park officials asked hikers travelling on the remote trails to volunteer to wear the 13 ounce electronic tracking device in their packs so researchers could find them more easily if they got lost. Although nobody needs rescuing during that time, officials took only five minutes to locate one group of hikers carrying the device.

In fact, making some sort of high-tech outdoor equipment may become more of a specialty these days. This summer, the Yukon-Canada's Alberta Region was hit by a record snowfall, forcing many people into the costs of search and rescue services. Presuming that the tax base is drying up, they will be asking a number of questions such as what services are appropriate, who should provide the services and what is the preference for payment?" says Chae. In fact, the probability of a winter season like this year's could prompt a number of the local says. Chae points out, however, that the local says could be used for people could be required to foot the bill if they need an emergency rescue. In the United States that practice is already official policy in places like the Grand Canyon, where a rescue unit costs between \$1,165 and \$2,000 more than a rescue unit. "It's a troubling event," says Chae.

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# People

Edited by  
BARBARA WICKENS



Score from YTV's *Reliving Grass* (left); an even-handed *Grimy Awards* program

leers, but it may take the U.S. bucks to keep the series alive. Says Goss: "Net work TV is such a cashpot."

Beyond *Dar South*, TV critics described the Gerties as the most even-handed in years, with 67 awards (mostly used among a variety of producers and networks). For instance, *Relive*, a computer-assisted children's series made for YTV by BIL Productions in Vancouver, won a pair of Gerties—best animated program or series, and outstanding technical achievement. Another YTV program, *Are You Afraid of the Dark?* by Moonstone's Grant, won best children's program. As usual, the CBC was strong in news and public affairs categories, winning 12 such awards. But whether peer recognition translates into life-sustaining dollars is still to be determined.

From *Are You Afraid of the Dark?* winner

## Sharing the limelight

First the good news: *Dar South* picked up seven Gertie Awards, including best dramatic series, at the 10th annual Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television presentation last week. And Paul Goss, who portrays clean-cut Monte Carlo, Boston French, walked away with the trophy for best series actor. The not-so-good news: *Dar South*'s producers, Toronto-based Alliance Communications, are still waiting to hear whether CBS will renew for a fourth season. CTV and foreign purchasers are still



## Going ape for their new movie project

British actor Hugh Grant and his girlfriend, model Elizabeth Hurley, seem to have weathered last winter's sex scandal (when he was arrested along with an L.A. hooker) with their relationship intact. But for now it is Hurley who is calling the shots. She is producing Grant's new movie, *Extreme Measures*, a \$30-million medical thriller filming in Toronto. "Of course, we fight the odds over it," says Grant, who co-



stars with Sarah Jessica Parker. "But in the end, it's really nice to have someone who knows your particular foibles and who is able to take the director aside and say, 'If you really want to get something decent out of him, tell him that his hair looks nice.'"

*Extreme Measures* was developed by the couple's London-based production company, Stratus Films. "We always just third chimpanzees," explains Hurley. "Do they have similar senses for each other?" "Yes, yes," Grant drags on. "The monkey."

Parker, Hurley, Grant: zealous sympathizers



LeFlury playing center with the Harlem Globetrotters

## From hockey to hoops

Like many boys from Quebec, Pascal LeFlury spent his childhood dreaming about playing in the NHL. "I wanted to drink from the Stanley Cup," says the 56-year-old, red-haired center. But there his hormones kicked in, and he decided his focus from the rink, in the basketball court. At seven feet, three inches and 285 lb, and with four years of U.S. college ball behind him, the 25-year-old LeFlury has become a star centre for the Harlem Globetrotters, the famed basketball tricksters celebrating their 70th anniversary with a North American tour, including eight Canadian stops. LeFlury is only the second Canadian to play for the hardwood hussies—the first was Fred Thomas of Windsor, Ont., in 1949. But LeFlury, the son of Haitian immigrants, still has his sights set on the NBA. "I could be the first Canadian to play for a Canadian team," he says.

# Is Oscar out of his mind?

*With a barbaric Scot pitted against a talking pig, the Academy Award nominations seem nuttier than ever*

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Oscar Naked, covered in gold and armed with a sword between his legs, he is Hollywood's household pig. Everyone wants a pig, but no one expects him to be the Oscar dino, after all, have a tradition to live up to. Denying best picture honors to such classics as *Citizen Kane* and *Apocalypse Now*, he has consistently favored isolation over art and sentiment over substance. He likes to be puzzled. He loves period epics, accents, struggles of the human spirit and heroes who overcome enormous disabilities. He likes movies that make money. But he also wants to like movies that make a difference. And Oscar has become more than a little confused. Last year, he was torn between *Ferris Bueller* and *Pulp Fiction*—two very recent studio films full of special effects versus a black-and-white independent film with a twisted story line. Predictably, *Ferris Bueller*—a period epic about a teen with an accent and a disability who escapes a battleship-scale struggle of the human spirit—won hands down. This year, however, Oscar's split personality seems to have advanced to a full-blown case of multiple-personality disorder.

The March 23 Academy Awards, to be hosted by Whoopi Goldberg, will allow the world's most eclectic group of best-picture voters to make its recent memory. They include five of the 10 living pig who appears to be a shrewing (Rebel), an adventure about three American astronauts lost in space (Apollo 13), the life of an Italian peasant who learns romance from an exiled Chinese poet (A Private's Story), an epic about a Moorish knight who slays enemy soldiers on sharp sticks (Gladiator), and a dramatic portrait of howlers ladies baling their hair in Jane Austen's England (Sense and Sensibility).

Only two of them—*Sense and Sensibility* and *Apollo 13*—are obvious choices. Mel Gibson's *Braveheart*, which leads the pack with 15

Oscar nominations, is a gory, blood-soaked spectacle. Bole the first talking animal movie to be nominated in 30 years (once *Dumbo* didn't) is a cute picture for kids, but not nearly as smart and innovative as *Jay Story R* (which is a wonderful movie—read number 1 on this critic's top 10 list for 1995). But as the first foreign-language film to be nominated for best picture since Ingmar Bergman's *Cries and Whispers* in 1973, it is another unlikely candidate. (No foreign film has ever won the top Oscar.)

Last in the shuffle, meanwhile, are *Dead Man Walking*, *Leaving Las Vegas*, *Nurse and Classmate*—long-shot contenders that were not nominated for best picture. In some cases, the reasons are obvious. The 5,000-member Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences is notoriously conservative. Many Academy voters were so offended by Martin Scorsese's grisly violent *Casino* that they stomped out all screenings. And *Nurse* has lost too much face, as dramatic violence overshadowed by a population against Oliver Stone for playing fast and loose with history.

What is most surprising, however, in the autumn of *Leaving Las Vegas* and *Dead Man Walking*, the year's two most powerful American dramas. Both are stories of unconditional compassion. *Leaving Las Vegas*, the exquisitely tragic story of a suicidal alcoholic, was perhaps just too bleak for the Academy. The death-ray drama of *Dead Man Walking* is another demon. But it was attributes that once would have secured Oscar with ease: great performances, an overhead treatment of a serious moral issue (capital punishment) and a heart-felt triumph of the human spirit. In post-O.J. America, a culture obsessed with the emotion between justice and vengeance, it is the year's most significant film.

Oscar's myopia seems symptomatic. In Hollywood the gulf between provocative drama and crowd-pleasing entertainment is widening. And the upshot is that this year's best-picture nominees reflect a backlash against the genre—their gravest—directors such as Scorsese and Stone—along with a swing toward family values. The top and ten favorites are the space-capsule adventure *Apollo 13* and the time-capsule romance *Sense and Sensibility*. But it is a hard call. The sword-and-hill spectacle of *Braveheart* appeals to an untamed audience, and even the pig, the all-time underdog, might just sneak up the middle.

The Academy itself is made up of 12 tribes, from actors to cinematographers and all its members may vote to nominate best picture. In other categories, however, actors nominate actors, directors nominate directors, and so on. This year the procedure has produced a startling discrepancy: The serious dramas that were snubbed for best picture dominate the acting categories. In best-drama of the 1990s, actor and actress nominees appear to be snubbed for best actor.

Among the five best actor candidates—Nicolas Cage (*Leaving*



Star and Cage, Penn and Scorsese (below): the year's two most powerful American dramas were lost in the shuffle



Las Vegas), Sean Penn (*Dead Man Walking*), Anthony Hopkins (*Nurse*), Richard Dreyfuss (*Mr. Watson's Got a Message From Al Pacino*) and Massimo Troisi (*My Father's House*). Cage is the clear front-runner, followed by Hopkins and Penn. Cage has already won the other major awards, including the various critics prizes and the Golden Globe. With *Nurse*, Hopkins pulls off a feat of characterization that would normally give him a lock on the prize: the prep work against the film will work against him. Penn's grima, meanwhile, is too dark and too subtle for Oscar's tastes. As a career music teacher in *Mr. Holland's Opus*, Richard Dreyfuss is too earnest unless his teaching is desperate for overtones and light.

Trent in the delirious comedy: And his story itself is the stuff of a Hollywood novel. The cowriter and driving force behind *R. Pat*, Trent postoperated heart bypass surgery in order to make the movie. He died, at 41, just hours after filming wrapped. Only three other performers have been nominated after their death (including James Dean twice, for *East of Eden* and *Giant*). Only one actor has ever received a posthumous Oscar—Peter Finch, for *Network* (1976). And no actor has ever won for a foreign-language role.

But who knows? In the final balloting for the Oscars, all Academy

members get to vote in all the categories. And considering their choices for best picture, anything could happen. If *Patino's* chaffest American director, Massimo Troisi, has been snubbed in an instant critique to his wife with a little of TV commercial. The irony, still playing after nine months in theaters, *Apocalypse* to broaden its audience. And Oscar loves a sentimental favorite.

The best actor category offers an unusually sharp field this year. Sean Penn, as the man who helps a condemned killer confront his conscience in *Dead Man Walking*, is the favorite. After four nominations, he is a one-of-a-kind. But Sharon Stone, who proves her mettle as a hooker who gets earned in the mob in *Casino*, is on a roll. Her flashy graduation from script to screen actress has that quality of moral conviction that Hollywood likes to canonize.

Among the other nominees, Elizabeth Shaw is equally deserving for her performance as a hooker in *Leaving Las Vegas*. But relatively unknown actresses who turn in career-making performances usually win Oscars only in supporting roles. Meryl Streep, meanwhile, was superb in *The Bridges of Madison County*, but she has won twice before. And unless a sweep sets in, Emma Thompson's role in *Sense and Sensibility* seems too modestly self-effacing for an Oscar. Expect her instead to win her best adapted screenplay.

In the supporting categories, meanwhile, all the nominees are lifetime candidates. On the male side, it comes down to a contest between Brad Pitt's bubbling peaches in *12 Monkeys* and Kevin Spacey's slippery gangster in *The Usual Suspects*. Also nominated are Tim Roth (*Rob Roy*), Ed Harris (*Apollo 13*) and James Cromwell (Haber). As for supporting actresses, Kathleen Quinlan (*Apollo 13*) and Mary McCormack (*Gladiator*) give stellar performances that are outweighed by Jane Allen's shrewd portrayal of a housewife.

First Lady in *Nurse*. But she faces stiff competition from Kate Winslet's romance romance in *Sense and Sensibility* and Mira Sorvino's dumb hooker in *My Father's House*.

That makes a total of three hookers. Women's roles may be getting better, but aside from Sorvino, all the other nominated actresses got top prizes, likely won as regular favors. Sharon Stone plays all three. Something is awry in Hollywood when the most liberated woman in the room is a nun.

The weakness of this year's nominees, however, makes them wonderfully unpredictable. Usually at least the best director award is easy to call. Nine times out of 10 it goes to the winner of the Directors' Guild of America prize. But this year the Guild's award went to *Apollo 13* director Ron Howard, who is not nominated for an Oscar. The only mainstream Hollywood candidate is *Braveheart's* justice director, Mel Gibson. And for the last of keeping track of himself and an army of cameramen, he may well win.

In one way, the Oscars have not wavered from tradition. As usual, the year's most sensational documentary was ignored. After snubbing *The Thin Red Line* (1993), *Rain* & *Mr. (1994)* and *Hope Downs* (1994), the Academy's gift of documentary honors failed to nominate *Cronin*, a devastating portrait of cancerous Robert Crank and his grotesquely grotesque children. Oscar does seem to be reminded of such things—sad, awful, suicidal deaths, lethal infection chambers, lying presidents. But a talking pig, now that's another story. □





Williams (left), Kilmory: rare outings

## TELEVISION

# Road warrior

In a union chokes, the story is already legendary: the largest, most powerful—and rotten—union since the planet. She decides to fight the corrupt union boss, despite personal tragedy and repeated threats against her life. In 1991, against all odds, she is elected to the Teamster's international executive board, the first woman to see such a post. TV is made for heroic acts like this, and *Diane Kilmory: Teamster*, airing on March 11 on the CBC, is a complex, well-paced drama that practically vibrates with Kilmory's raw personal courage and determination. For director Susan Gossman (*The Diary of Anne Frank*, *Final Girls*) has treated the temptation to create as soon as B.C. born actor Barbara Williams delivers a terrific performance that reveals Kilmory for what she is, a strong-willed, tough-minded woman who grows in good as she goes. When a hostile Teamster director tries to take her on the broken on Kilmory's gigantic dump truck, she turns on him with zealous fury. "You men are with my machine," she snarls, "and you'll have a car that goes well before your life."

Although she was born in Montreal and raised in Vancouver, where she still lives,

Kilmory, 49, is better known in the United States than in Canada. This production, written by a team including film maker Anne Wheeler, may help clarify that. Even before the action moves to the busy heart of union politics, Kilmory commands respect—from the early shots of the character working on a dangerous construction site to heroic moments of motherhood dramatically later. When, after a recently elected union reformer seeks money to battle the entrenched leaders, she is the first to raise her \$500 into a bid. "If it's nobody, we're nobody," she says curtly as she strides from a roomful of silent, stoned men.

And therein lies the principal strength of the production. Kilmory, a doctor's daughter who left home at 14 because of her father's brooding hangings, is an eloquent speaker with a talent for recounting dramatic events in unembellished detail. The film-makers interviewed her extensively and used her words for Williams's voice-overs. Kilmory describes Teamster bosses and targets her reform-minded colleagues. And there

are a few ironic asides on romance. At various times, she dated an economist, an aspiring poet and a pipefitter. "For awhile, I thought I'd work my way through the entire building trades," she says wryly.

The most powerful sequence is at the end of both the film and Kilmory's life. In 1978, while driving home for Christmas through a snowstorm, Kilmory and her son, Sean, then 9, were horribly injured after they smashed into a tow truck on a blind corner. One of Kilmory's legs was shattered, and Sean suffered permanent brain damage. The hospital system in which Sean remains and died in agony are now state-owned and incredibly rich. Unbelievably, union officials decided to punish Kilmory for her reformist activities by refusing to pay long-term disability benefits in the film. Kilmory calls it the "first evil assault on my well-being ever," and it is clear that it fueled a burning pain. "I swear, I will not rest," she says later through gritted teeth, "until I see every officer responsible removed, permanently." And when, after 33 more years of relentless work with the reform group Teamsters for a Democratic Union, she pulls off the seemingly impossible by taking a seat on the executive board of the 1.5-million-member union in position she still holds, her exhilaration is infectious. Reflecting on how it felt to enter the famous marble-fronted Teamster headquarters in Washington, Kilmory says it up with characteristic poignancy. "My God, we did this," she says. "We own the joint!"

*Diane Kilmory: Teamster* is an unusually successful blending of the public and private aspects of one turbulent life. That Gossman says the process of writing the two together was not easy. Kilmory's experiences during the peak of the film, 1983 to 1989, unfolded against the backdrop of a redoubting out launched by the U.S. government against Teamster officials. But rather than focus on the complexity of the legal wrangling and union politics, Gossman sticks to Kilmory's point of view.

"We tried to construct it as a personal journey—it's a *Myra* real time," he says. That decision presented its own problems. Kilmory describes herself as "an extremely private person," and both she and Gossman admit that they batted over the inclusion of some personal details. But Gossman emphasizes that he retained full editorial control. He is less sure, however, about what to call the kind of fact and dramatic behavior that has become his trademark. "Distilled reality," he suggests. Whatever the label, in this case the technique has created a tale of extraordinary commitment to political change. And its portrait of a hardheaded single mother goes beyond a new—and unforgettable—film.

PATRICIA CHESLUM

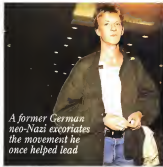
## BOOKS

# 'Aryan poster boy' no more

A bibliography can be many things. History, confusion, export. *Hitler: The last twelve months* by Ian Kershaw, the first inside account of the neo-Nazi German neo-Nazi movement, is all of these. Ingo Hasselbach, self-described former "Aryan poster boy," tells how he was seduced into the violent, painted world of latter-day Nazism—and then defected to tell the world about it. Growing up in Berlin and then in the old East Berlin, he found violence in the very street

For a time after the East German system crumbled, Hasselbach was one of the leading symbols of everything that was going wrong in Germany. Between 1990 and about 1993, neo-Nazi recruited thousands of disaffected young people and channelled their frustrations against easy targets like foreigners and refugees. Many were beating up, some died when young punks set off gas bombs in front of Hasselbach, by his own account, was in the thick of the violence, and

He showed off portraits of Hitler and Goebbels in his weekly apartment. In East Berlin and traded out his well-rehearsed tale of white pride and neophobia. Even then, though he seemed more reflective—more human—than other leading neo-Nazis, he sat far from his neighborhood park and spoke at length about his personal background (his father, who never married his mother, was a prominent broadcaster), and how the German system could not be so tolerant



A former German neo-Nazi excoriates the movement he once helped lead

Hasselbach: he requires protection from his former cohorts

that mythology can be also be therapy and in many ways that is the level at which Hasselbach's book is most compelling. He and his co-author, American journalist Simon Brown, found the movement in an intense partnership that allowed both men to deal with some of their deepest obsessions.

For Hasselbach—a 29-year-old, street-fight, neo-Nazi, ideologically blind movement—the world was first Jew-hatred, then Hitler, then the Holocaust. He had known well, despite his distance with anti-Semitism, thinking and rhetoric. For Brown—a smart, 32-year-old whose grandparents died in the Holocaust and who has had a lifelong fascination with Nazism—Hasselbach was his worst nightmare made flesh and blood. Brown sought out Hasselbach, won his confidence, and eventually spent a month with him in a remote cabin in Sweden (along down his name: Collaborationist on Hitler's loved him both to confront their nightmares, and allowed them to help motivate each other's dreams. "Here's my story," he wrote both obsessed by the same thing. "I was infected from on his relationship with Hitler," "in a sense, we're obsessed by each other."

the portrait he paints of himself is not pretty. Describing an encounter with an anarchist who was shot and another Nazi, he writes, "As he lay on the ground, I took and I kicked him in the neck, in the stomach, in the face, in the skull. I was thinking, as I looked, saw his bones are breaking beneath my feet. I want them to be provided as, as he acts for this pain he caused it." But even while confessing that, Hasselbach insists that he was not the worst of the worst. Fighting, he writes, "never came naturally to me, which is probably why, unlike some of my comrades, I never liked anyone."

Hasselbach became something of a media star in the early 90s, as the world tried to figure out why young Germans were turning again to the swastika. I met him in November, 1992, while preparing a report for *National* on the rise of the radical right.

In Sweden, he told *National's* security office insisted that he stay instead on a police boat for his own safety. I got more than threats from Salome Rindler, he said.

As a result, he lives an underground life, splitting his time between the United States, France and Germany—where he must be particularly careful. His ambition, he says, is to become a film maker, he is working with *Washed*, a German director who made a film about Hasselbach's life as a neo-Nazi and then helped him to leave the movement. He has a new book coming out in German, titled *The Throat*, on the continuing success of the radical right. After that, he insists, "I just want to close this chapter of my life." This old hatred, raw his emotions, are not likely to let him do that without a fight.

ANDREW PHILLIPS

# Allan Fotheringham

## Roughing it on the Yucatán Peninsula

In 1930, Gerald Ritz was just like so many postwar Europeans: A Belgian, he had no money to take his family on a "foreign vacation" so familiar to well-off North Americans. No Hiltons could ever have been on his horizon.

Instead, he gathered a few friends and they went on a convoluted half-day, around with rented pup tents, on the island of Mujeres off Spain. They decided on a continental approach: the best tennis player would arrange the tennis schedule, those who loved the kitchen would handle the cooking. And so on.

Each year thereafter, the idea had spread to so many friends that the owner of the pup tents figured this should be expanded to a commercial operation. And so was born Club Med, the phenomenon of the travel world, now twice as far from those who can afford much better.

At first, Ritz and his survivors proceeded with such things as simple Polynesian grass huts in Tahiti. Today there are 105 Club Meds sprinkled around the globe and they are true to a simple creed: no robes, no TV, no newspapers, no as little as you want, to do about anything you want. It is not for everyone. It is not for people who hate huts.

This particular arduous research is being done at the Club Med in Cancun hanging out on the tip of the Yucatán Peninsula in Mexico. The beer and wine are free at lunch and dinner. There is no tipping. In fact, there is no money involved—that being too reminiscent of the real world. Spare drinks are paid for with colored beads that hang around your neck—and considering what some of the French girls wear, the beads are some of the best protection they've got.

It's summer camp for adults. No Hilton lovers need apply. There are 130 "G-G's"—guest/operators who are semi-retired versions of your camp counselor. There is a staff of 250, mostly Mexican, that prepares the food and changes the sheets. That's 260 people to take care of 405 guests. There are, long observation across the world over so many decades has shown, two types who have different versions of what a holiday is all about. One is to dish steadily about, arriving home more exhausted than when leaving. The other is to sit under a tree and read a book. Club Med caters to both. They only meet at the free wine for lunch.

There is, for example, this alien blob who reaches steadily on



the beach and past the pool. She is wearing a thong, an alleged bathing costume that is better imagined than described. She is always teaching somewhere. She never sits down. The twenty jocks who are at the volleyball game beside the pool, and the basketball court beside the pool, go bananas.

There is the doctor from Los Angeles, who is here with his medical student daughter from the University of Michigan, who is at his 80th Club Med. He knows all the songs, all the cozy area scenes when they do aerobic classes in the pool each morning.

He would like for Club Med. There is the couple from Helsinki—for a physiotherapist, his eyes a translucent blue—who are trying to explain to a French couple at lunch they have seen Vincent van Gogh's birthplace. The couple from France, the world's most transfer nation—Vin Gogh was Dutch after all—have never heard of him. It's never dull.

The bossman at Cancun is Stephen Riera, a 33-year-old who shows up in the nightly theatre slots that keep the guests from being bored until the disco opens—at midnight. Outside, the chess players sit at permanent tables hidden in the leafy hollows.

He was at law school in France when his parents took him one summer to a Club Med. Ball game over, Club policy is to move the bossman every year. He has run the clubs in the Bahamas, Morocco, Mauritius. His biggest problem? "There are 800 guests who are no problem. There are 20 who are problems. That's what you find in life—take any 500 and you'll find 20 who give you trouble."

The food is wall-to-wall. The observers speculate that the young blond in the thong must be a hooker. She never sits down.

There is J. J. Sherrill. He is a "G-G"—a somewhat bundle of 19, he is 28. Toronto-born. Graduate in political science, University of Ontario. Worked in management for five years in pharmaceuticals. Came to one Club Med and loved it so much the staff demanded he return as a "G-G."

In French-speaking Martinique, they showed a make in his face and announced he was in charge of the pool services. He didn't speak a word of French. He now is a language brook. "From what I have learned about people, I could go back to university and earn a PhD in sociology without a single syllabus."

In his solid days, Club Med became known as "Club Med," the haven for the twigs in blouses. The language-rich muscle jocks as "G-G's" are now gone, the losers to the MDS generation and more serious types like political science graduates. The joint is now specified with grey hair, summer camp for adults.

To start off the water-ski show, a G-G stands in the window of the second-floor restaurant, in his bare feet, his nose to his motorboat securely in hand. The motor roars, he leaps and then barrels around the lagoon.

Of the phase home, the blond in the thong gets tipped—"because I deserve it on my last day"—and is revealed as an innocent student at Conestoga College in rural Ontario. It's never dull.



Yeah, whatever.



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